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1776.

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(Herodotus)

Niebuhr

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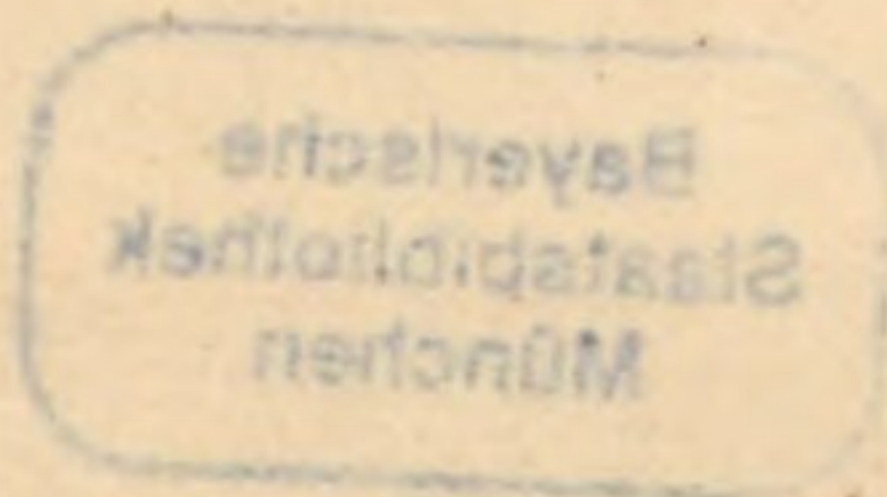
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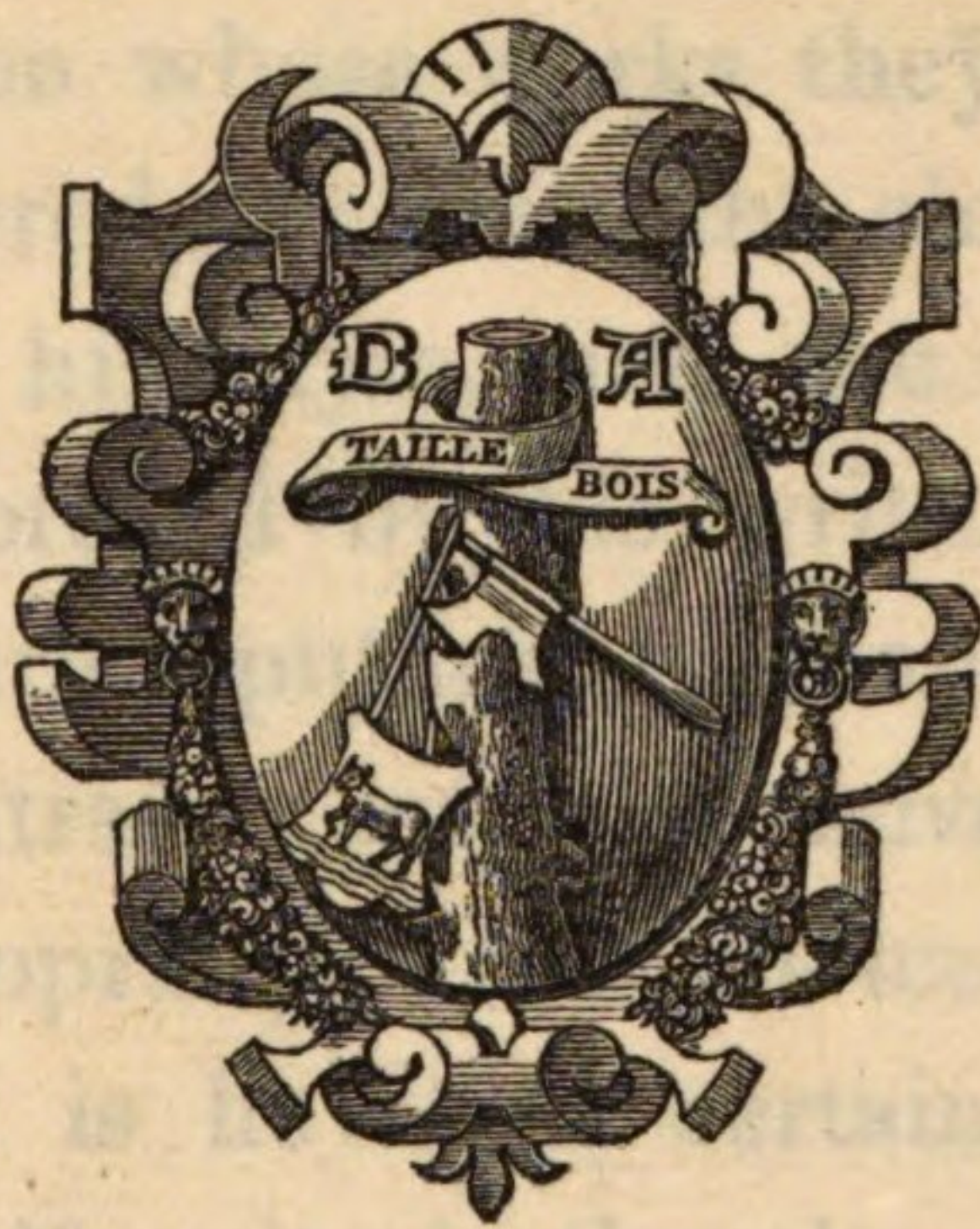
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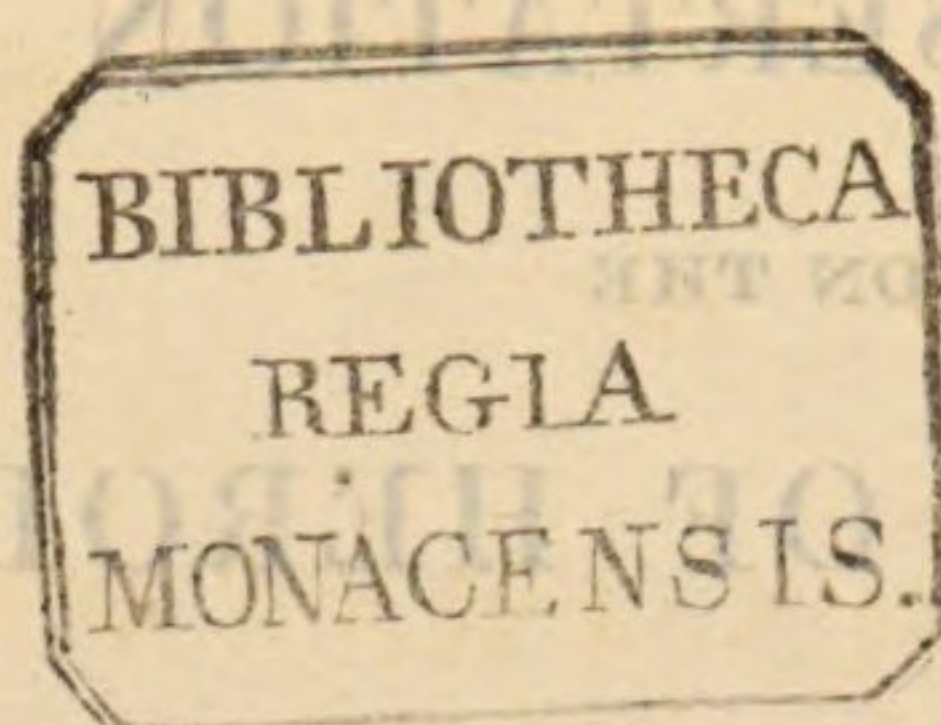
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MDCCCXXX.



RESEARCHES

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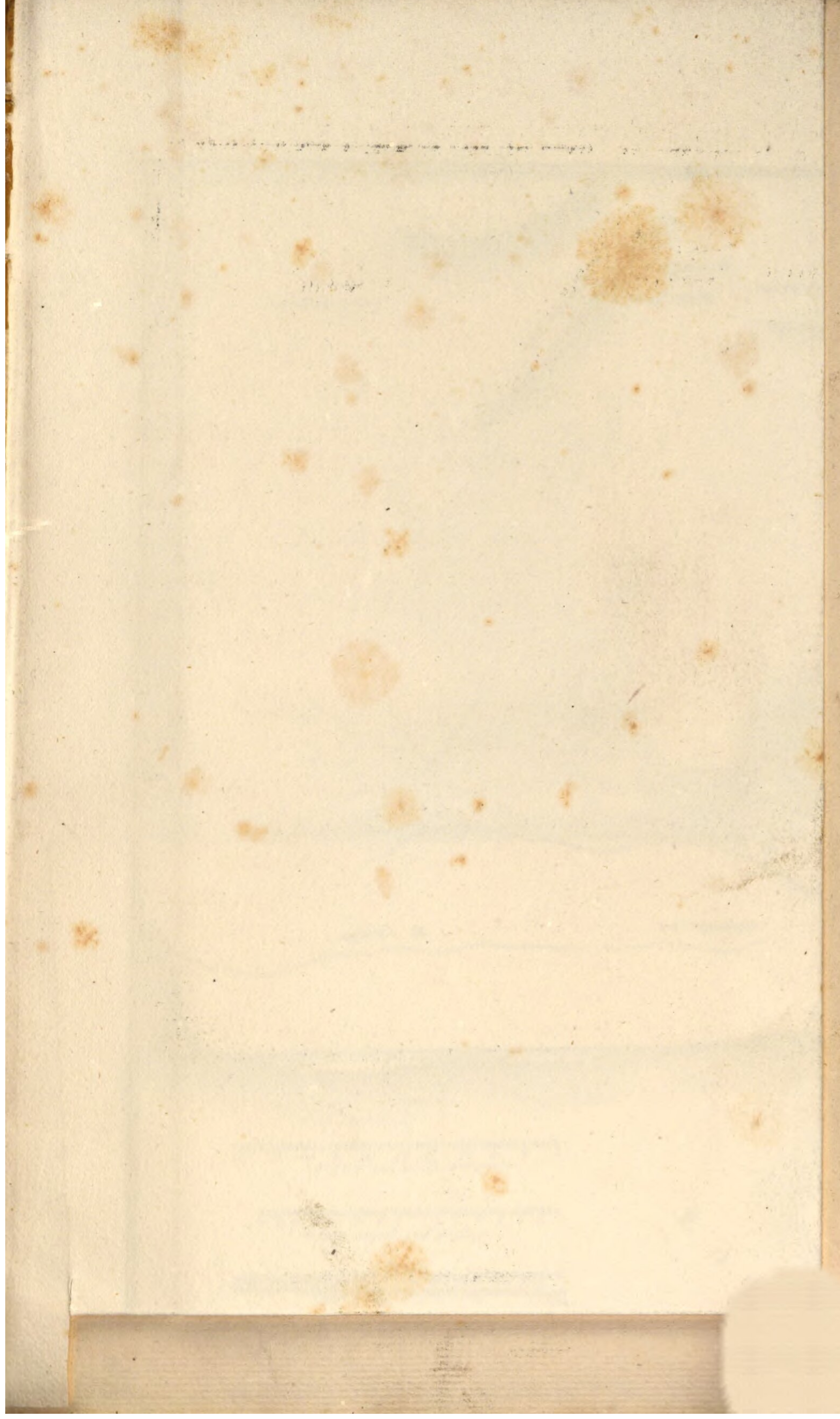
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MDCCLXX.

THE
EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE two dissertations, of which a translation is now offered to the English public, are contained in a volume of miscellaneous tracts on historical and philological subjects, published by Mr. Niebuhr in the year 1828. Both of them serving to illustrate the geography and history of Herodotus; and being alike distinguished by the ingenuity and soundness of the views proposed in them, it was thought that they might afford some assistance to the numerous readers of the ancient historian and traveller, on whose works they throw so much light. Herodotus, from the clearness and simplicity of his style, and the antiquity of the times embraced by his writings, is generally the first author put into the hands of young men at their entrance into the university of Oxford. On the propriety of this choice there can be no doubt: it is however certain, that from the want of uniformity in the plan of the work, the generally desultory character of the style, and the mixture of geographical with historical

accounts, there are few books which a beginner finds so much difficulty in comprehending as a whole, particularly when his attention is in some measure diverted by the mere meaning of the words. The works of Rennel on the Geography of Herodotus, and of Heeren on the Chief Nations of Antiquity, the one from its bulk, and the other from its language, are inaccessible to most readers. How much assistance the learner may derive from the two following dissertations of Mr. Niebuhr, the first intended to embrace the whole geographical scheme of Herodotus, the second elucidating one of the most perplexing of his geographical descriptions, the editor does not venture to decide. His judgment is however greatly mistaken, if they will not be found to contain an accurate and satisfactory view of the questions discussed in them, illustrated with many useful and ingenious remarks: and his labour will be doubly rewarded, if they should not only contribute to the instruction, but stimulate the exertion of some, even one reader, to researches carried on with equal learning, and nearly equal originality.



A DISSERTATION
ON THE
GEOGRAPHY OF HERODOTUS.

THE revival of the critical examination of ancient history renders it everyday more evident that the most diligent study of the original authorities secures neither clearness nor certainty, unless the reader can determine the point from which and the medium through which the author looked, whose narrative he is perusing. Investigations of this nature are not less attractive than necessary; yet future ages will have little reason to complain, that even in this department of philological science the materials are exhausted.

Amongst other essential labours belonging to this style of criticism, is that of elucidating the notions of Grecian writers respecting the figure of the earth, as also the situation, outline, extent, and condition of countries known at their time: a labour, without which it is impossible to appreciate their geographical, frequently even their historical, accounts. The

researches of Voss upon ancient geography, and their highly successful results, rank among the greatest additions which have in modern times been made to the science of archaiology ; they do not, however, embrace the historian who treated of geography, so far as it was connected with his subject, the history of the wars between Asia and Europe, and interwove it with his history. Yet the abundance and importance of his accounts fully reward us for the effort which it requires to comprehend them as he intended : and it is only by restoring the whole picture, that we can be sure of the corrections by which his particular statements become applicable to the ancient geography : or, in other words, we must sketch out the map of the geography of Herodotus. Such an attempt appears the less difficult, as this historian frequently supplies measures and distances : should there be, however, in this first essay, some principal positions only doubtfully laid down, or even falsely delineated, the present dissertation will, at least, exhibit the causes of such defects : and if other writers should undertake to solve the difficulties which shall be distinctly pointed out, the labour which it has cost me will not be lost for the cause of science. There might, perhaps, be some scruple in laying before this assembly^a, inquiries which tend to place in a disadvan-

^a This dissertation was read before the Berlin Academy, and was first published in the transactions of that society for 1812-13.

tageous light a favourite and venerated writer of antiquity, in the presence of the cultivators of the sciences, in whose eyes the ancient historian must certainly appear ignorant when compared with a well-informed youth of modern times. Yet as we are little disposed to censure those who give the preference to modern times for the improvements in those sciences, which were either uncultivated in the brightest days of antiquity, or which were found rather in the germ of profound meditations than developed in full, yet must we claim the regard of the mathematician and the physical geographer, whose sciences, without the labours of the Greeks of a later period, would now have had no existence.

At the time when Herodotus collected and recorded his observations, many of the Greeks must have been advanced beyond a mere elementary knowledge of mathematics and astronomy: and to several of his contemporaries his notions respecting the figure of the earth, and the causes of the differences of climate, must have appeared simple and illiterate. Such information, however, was not, as in the days of modern improvement, a common property, which it is in the power of every one to acquire, and a want of which is considered as a culpable defect. As we do not require that every one should be a physician, a painter, or a musician, in order to deserve the name of educated; so it was an education of another kind, and that

of no slight extent, which the Greeks required of every freeborn citizen. The Greeks considered in the same light a knowledge of sciences and a knowledge of the arts. Now a proficiency in a single art confers distinction; and a person usually confines his attention to that particular branch, and remains unacquainted with other arts. In Greece the same view was taken of the sciences, and thus Herodotus could be an historian, without being an astronomer or natural philosopher; he could be λόγιος and ιστορικὸς without its being requisite that he should also be ἀστρολόγος or φυσικός; he considered geography only in his own point of view, careless of the censures of others who might view it in a different direction.

This mode of proceeding was certainly, like the whole train of thought which his work exhibits, in the highest degree empirical. On the one hand, where his own immediate experience has not shown him the contrary, he rejects not the strangest things as impossible: (and this not from credulity, but because his experience had convinced him of the reality of things the most marvellous, which in his own country he would have regarded as impossible) —and on the other, does not think^b the most

^b The words of the original, are “*wie er auch die ausserordentlichsten Veränderungen für unmöglich im langen Laufe der Zeit hält.*” It seems that the negative has, by an error of the press, been omitted in this clause; and that the author alludes to the story of the Egyptian priests, related by Herodotus, that the sun had four times changed its course, etc.

extraordinary changes impossible in long process of time; thus, both in space and time, he proceeds onwards and backwards, without acknowledging any limits. Though he does not attempt to conceive or comprehend the eternity of the earth and of the human race, nor deems the contentions of nations on their superior antiquity to be absurd, which to our prejudices appear so strange, still he gives it as his opinion, that the Egyptians might have existed from eternity, and that the Scythians might have had their origin a thousand years before his time. In like manner the earth is, according to him, a boundless plain. Minds of an entirely opposite character to that of Herodotus, engaged in comprehending the universe, had endeavoured long before, with a far more limited knowledge of countries, to determine the circumference and figure of the earth, and had reduced them, in thought at least, to a determinate shape. These limits gave way as knowledge advanced, and thus the wish to assign a definite circumference, where by extending their views on all sides they never arrived at an end, to Herodotus appeared mere folly. He was indifferent as to the relation that the earth bears to the rest of the universe, which he, with the wisest of his contemporaries, considered only as associated with the earth; he looked upon all inquiries about the nature of the universe as useless, when only so small a portion of it was known. An attempt to

draw the figure of the earth he considered an act of ridiculous presumption; when, therefore, he says, that “the ether bounds the earth¹,” it is only a popular notion, purposely expressed in vague language.

It is evident, without farther inquiry or proof, that Herodotus considered the earth to be a plane. His notions, however, respecting the causes of the varieties of climate are by no means equally clear: so much so, that to a person who does not perceive their singular simplicity, the passages where they occur are wholly unintelligible. Severity or mildness of climate are, in his opinion, peculiar properties of countries, in the same way as fertility or barrenness of soil: he derives the nature of the climate from the winds, which he considers as an inherent quality of the air; an opinion by no means peculiar to Herodotus, but generally prevalent in his time. This is evident from his account of the Hyperboreans, which we are able to compare with that of Hecataeus (Diodorus II, 47²). This writer, who must have been acquainted with the rigour of the Scythian winter, describes the perpetual spring, and the double harvest of the happy islands in the extreme north beyond the icy Boreas.—Hero-

¹ VII, 8, 11. “If all countries were subject to the Persian empire, it would be bounded by the ether of Jupiter.” γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέχομεν τῷ Διὶ αἰθέρι ὁμουρέουσιν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ὁ ἥλιος ὁμουρον εἶδεν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, are the words of Darius.

² See note (A) at the end.

dotus, indeed, does not admit this account to be completely true; but he rejects it, not for its physical absurdity, but merely because he had not comprehended it (IV, 32). Besides, although according to his notion of the boundless extent of the earth, no middle point of its plane, at least no determinate one, could be conceived, yet, from deference to the prevailing opinion of his nation, he does not adhere to this position, which must have carried with it conviction to his own mind. He even considers his beloved Greece as the centre of the earth: though he nowhere asserts this in definite terms, yet it is evident from his doctrine, that "Greece is preferable to all other countries, because it enjoys such happy varieties of climate;" although it was poor in comparison with the countries at the extremities of the world.

In the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, this opinion as to the causes of climate must have originated from immediate observation. The winds in those parts are beyond comparison more important and diversified phenomena than in the northern parts of Europe, and are accompanied with circumstances and consequences, which are partly inexplicable even in our own times. They have, moreover, unquestionable local peculiarities; and winds from certain points of the compass possess, in particular regions, properties which do not appear elsewhere. Hence the Greeks

regarded them as *powers*, which were fixed in certain places, and thence exerted their influence as far as it would reach. The Boreas in winter, and the Etesian winds in summer, blowing uniformly, accompany the seasons³; and their influence upon the temperature is so much more striking than that of the sun's place, that the people must have considered them not only as independent, but as principal causes of heat and cold. Moreover the Greeks observed the very different temperatures of countries under the same latitude, and the many other circumstances of climate, which even we are unable to explain from mere geographical situation. Herodotus, and similar geographers, said that Scythia was cold,

³ According to PLINY (*Hist. Nat.* xviii. 25), who follows Julius Cæsar, the wind Favonius sprung up on the 8th of Feb. and the spring began with its breezes: i. e. it was the criterion whether the winter ended a few days sooner or later. I have myself remarked, during six springs passed at Rome, that the observation holds good up to this time, in which that soft wind never broke up the winter before the 7th of Feb. and twice only a few days later: this wind of course may return afterwards, as was sometimes the case in ancient times. In general the change of seasons takes place at Rome, as Cæsar has noted it. The summer begins about the 10th of May, at the first rising of the Pleiades: the winter about the 11th of Nov. at the setting of that constellation. These points may vary by a few days: the beginning of the autumn, on the contrary, almost invariably falls on the 15th of August, the Assumption of the Virgin. Then a thunder storm with rain comes on, even when drought has prevailed for several months; after which the whole temperature changes. It is an extremely rare event for this change to take place a day earlier or later. Cæsar fixed the beginning of this season at the 11th of August, and stated this day as being the setting of Lyra, in order to connect the changes of the seasons with the motion of the stars. Sosigenes, however, most probably knew that Lyra had set some days earlier. Did Cæsar wish to fix the exact mean between the rising and setting of the Pleiades? or does the change of season now fall four days later?

because cold winds prevail there, which engender frost and snow, and this, because in Greece the north wind is the invariable cause of frost, while the south wind dissolves it; and that the alternation took place, though the course and place of the sun did not, according to their observation, undergo, from day to day, the slightest change. It certainly sounds rather strange, when Herodotus says, "in winter, i. e. when the frosty winds prevail in the north, they drive the sun from his course, into southern regions, which are free from cold, and warm in all seasons (II, 24); and when the cold relaxes, he again returns to his proper track (25). That the sun imbibes the waters of the sea and the rivers; that the south winds dissolve the vapours in winter, while the sun is traversing the arid deserts of Libya, and forces them, in the form of rain, towards the north: and hence these winds were so rainy at this season of the year in Greece. That as the power of the sun operates most directly upon those countries over which he bends his course, it comes to pass, that in winter the Nile is deprived of its flood of waters: in summer, when evaporation commences in countries under the northern ecliptic, it flows in its full force, and the inundation is, in fact, the natural state and size of the river."

In these instances Herodotus relates the fact correctly, but views it in a false light; yet in another place (III, 104) the knowledge

which he possesses of the keen frosty nights of India, assumes a marvellous form by his explanation, derived from popular notions which he has adopted without suspicion. Although he attributed the changes of climate and seasons to the winds, yet he saw plainly, that the difference of warmth in the day and night is caused by the sun. He inferred that the nights of India are cold, because the setting sun is at its greatest distance from the countries on which it rises in the morning; and having thus accounted for the fact of the cold nights, he formed from this false explanation his notion of the temperature of the different hours of the day, which, by this means, necessarily became incorrect: for he supposed that the morning in India is hotter than noon. Agreeably with his notions respecting the indefinite extent of the earth, Herodotus leaves it undecided, whether Europe, towards the north and east, is surrounded by sea (IV, 45); he was, however, aware of the existence of the Atlantic in the west (I, 202). His Europe, being greater than both the other parts of the world put together, greatly exceeding them in width, and even in length stretching beyond them both, if we examine the countries contained in it, in fact includes the whole of Northern Asia; for Herodotus makes the Phasis, not the Tanais, its boundary: consequently, the line is not drawn from north to south, but only from west to east, as far as

the Caspian sea; and from thence eastward he leaves it undetermined. He is indeed the more indifferent about this imperfection, as while he admits the threefold division of the world, because it had been generally adopted, he yet considers it a popular prejudice: and chiefly for this reason, that if we are to divide the world into three parts, they ought to be equal, at least not so extravagantly differing in extent, as he considered the common divisions to be. In one place (IV, 40), however, he appears to make the Caspian sea and the Araxes, the extreme northern boundaries of Asia.

The tin islands were unknown to him (III, 115): and, as it has been already remarked, he leaves it undecided whether there is sea in those parts: neither does he fix the western boundary of Europe close to the Pillars of Hercules. Indeed, it is plain that he supposes the land to extend far to the west: for he says that "the Celts are the most remote people in Europe, after the Cynetes" (IV, 49). Yet he was acquainted with the Iberi (VII, 165), and must consequently have supposed those western nations of Europe to lie to the west of the latter, and of the Pillars. It cannot be doubted that he had a knowledge, though not very distinct, of the great size of the Celtic nation. To have recourse to the little tribe of the Celtici in Lusitania, in order to get at a Celtic people whose real geographical

situation might correspond with that imagined by Herodotus, is a striking instance of that false style of criticism which will always suppose the writer to be in the situation of his reader. It is not surprising that Herodotus should place the Celts in the extreme west; since in his time, so far from having reached Illyria, they had not as yet crossed the Alps, nor had even arrived at any part of the coast of the Mediterranean. The whole country between the Alps and Pyrenees, far into the interior, was still exclusively possessed by Ligurian and Iberian tribes. The great distance, on the other hand, at which he places the Celts, is a proof that this people had not in his time approached any well-known countries^c.

Still more absurd than this identification of the Celts of Herodotus with the Celtici, is the

^c The author, in his *History of Rome*, rejects the date given in Livy for the first migration of the Celts into Italy; and supposes it to have taken place at about the middle of the fourth century after the building of Rome (about 390 B. C. see vol. ii, chap. xi). MUELLER, however, in his *History of the Etruscans*, vol. i, p. 147—154, approves the early date (about 600 B. C.), but admits, that in the time of Herodotus, the Celts had not as yet reached the shores of the Mediterranean, p. 153, and compare p. 203. But he thinks, with great probability, that when Alcibiades said at Sparta, "that the Athenians intended, if they were successful against Sicily, Lower Italy, and Carthage, to hire Iberians, and *others of the barbarians in those quarters who were confessedly the most warlike*," these last words allude to the Celts, and their great conquests (THUCYD. vi, 90). Alcibiades was at Sparta in 415 B. C. and Herodotus mentions, in his history, a fact which took place in 409 B. C. six years afterwards (see CLINTON'S *Fast. Hell.* p. 79). It seems very difficult to account for the indistinct knowledge of the Celts which is shown in the history of Herodotus.

notion that the Cynetes, who by his account dwelt still farther west, being the most remote people in that part of Europe, were the inhabitants of Algarve, merely because this district, on account of cape St. Vincent, which projects in the shape of a wedge, was called *Cuneus* by the Romans, and unfortunately may from its true situation be considered the westernmost country in this direction. As in historical geography we are not to look for the Celts to the west of the Iberi, so the Cynetes are not to be sought to the west of the Celts: yet assuredly they are not a fabulous people, but one which dwelt at a very great distance beyond the Celts, and, therefore, probably in the north: for the more distant was the object, the farther it naturally diverged from the truth.

From the silence of Herodotus with respect to the western countries of Europe it has been inferred, that the Greeks of his time had a very slight acquaintance with them, and even with Italy. But it must be remembered, that by means of the numerous Grecian colonies, the intercourse with them was as open as with the countries to the east and south of Greece. It may be true that the products of these regions might not, like those of Asia, Libya, and Scythia, induce Greek merchants to penetrate from the coast into the interior, as these commodities could either be produced in sufficient quantities in Greece itself, or be procured at a less distance. Nevertheless, names which

are quoted from the *Εὐρώπη* of Hecataeus^d show that even the towns in the interior of Italy were not then unknown in Greece: although the great scarcity of names of cities from the Pillars of Hercules as far as Tyrrhenia, with the exception of the Grecian colonies, in the much more recent work of Scylax^e, certainly proves that the navigators of Greece and the colonies in Asia Minor rarely visited the western seas. But Herodotus makes no mention of those countries for this reason alone, that, as I have before observed, they were foreign to the plan of his work: on which account he readily admits any episode connected with his main subject^f; but we should quite misapprehend the beautiful keeping of his history, if we consider him capable of introducing matters entirely foreign to the subject; and conclude that he must have had a very slight knowledge of Carthage, and none whatever of Rome, because he says scarce anything of the former city, and does not mention the latter. He had it in his power to have given a general and far more complete system of geography; but this was not his object. He

^d See STEPH. BYZ. in Ἀρίνθη, Ἀρτεμίσιον, Ἰξιάς, Κόσσα, Κυτέριον, Μαλάνιος, Μενεκίνη, etc.

^e In a separate dissertation, Mr. NIEBUHR determines that the Periplus of Scylax was written in the 105th Olympiad, in the first half of Philip's reign, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i, p. 123. LETRONNE has since written on the same subject in the *Journal des Savans*, which paper the translator has not seen; but MUELLER, *Etrusker*, vol. i, p. 159, agrees with him, that "this Periplus is a compilation, in which the materials of different writers and times have been made use of."

^f Προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο, iv, 30.

speaks most fully of the countries which he had personally visited; and where he specifies measures, as of Egypt, the road to Susa, Scythia, and the Pontus, it is of countries which he himself had seen, or such as lay immediately contiguous to them, as for instance, the Arabian gulf.

It would far exceed the limits of this dissertation to discuss the whole geography of Herodotus: my only object will be to restore the map which may be supposed to have lain before him, or which existed in his mind, altered from one then extant. A comparison with the real geography, or an application of his accounts to a correct map, are tasks which I must leave to other inquirers.

One point, which may unquestionably be determined from his scattered statements, is the size of Egypt and its position under a meridian passing through Cyprus, the mountainous Cilicia, Sinope, and the mouth of the Ister.

That the Nile in Egypt flows from south to north could not possibly escape the notice of one who had sailed up it as far as Elephantina; when, therefore, in attempting to discover the farther course of this river, he says (II, 31), that it flows from west to east, he can only mean its course from Asmach to Elephantina. Here he was doubtless influenced by a report of the great river of the interior flowing from west to east, for it cannot be denied that these and the other places on the Egyptian Nile

must be looked for in the south of Egypt, although he supposed them to lie in the west.

This corresponds with his notion that Libya consists of parallel belts of land of different natures (II, 32, IV, 181). 1. *The coast*, not unlike the soil and climate of Europe. 2. *The land of wild beasts* (ἡ θηριώδης). 3. *The sandy waste*, in which the salt-hills are situated. And lastly the *desert*. According to the idea which he had formed of the earth, the Nile flows to the south of, and parallel with the last mentioned region⁴.

Such an imaginary arrangement in parallel lines is one of the chief causes of the false maps of unmathematical geography; it may, however, harmonize more completely with itself the farther it deviates from the truth. But the geography of Africa according to Herodotus is as inconsistent with itself, as it is wanting in real accuracy: and his enumeration of the salt-oases as far as mount Atlas (IV, 181—185), as well as his geography of the Libyan nations, is full of difficulties and contradictions; as may be discovered by any one who will endeavour to embody in a map the narrative of the historian. No assistance can be derived from emendations of the text: for its sound-

⁴ The etymology of the *Niger* and the *Nigritæ*, the river and people of the blacks, as the Romans might seem to have named them from the prevailing colour of the Africans, is a mere delusion. The name of the river is correctly written *Nigir*, and is a Punic word, viz. *Nahar* i. e. river. The *Nigritæ* are those who dwell on its banks. The name of the people occurs in the ancient geographers much earlier than that of the river.

ness in all the passages which present contradictions admits of no doubt.

One grand error of Herodotus consists in placing the Oases, which lie to the west of Siwah as far as Fezzan, much too far south of the coast, viz. in the parallel of Egyptian Thebes and the great Oasis. In this direction, five salt-hills and springs, including the great Oasis, follow in succession from Thebes as far as the nation of Atlantes, distant from each other a journey of ten days. The day's journey may here be reckoned at 200 stadia; hence the whole distance, if the Oases are considered as points, is 10,000 stadia from Thebes: and thus the Atlantes perhaps lie exactly north of Meroë, separated from it by the desert, and at no greater distance than Thebes is from Elephantina, the Nile being supposed to flow to that point from west to east. This regularity in leaping from one salt mountain to another, without allowing for the width of the Oases themselves, would doubtless have been adopted in drawing a map of the world like that which Herodotus derides, in which the earth seemed round as if turned in a lathe; and as he himself has not escaped the natural temptation to arrange the earth in a symmetrical form, so he could not in this instance have given greater scope to his fancy. But as the Oasis of the Garamantes, who are called and really were a very considerable nation (*ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρῶς*, IV, 183), must be looked upon as a whole country (Fez-

zan), and the ten days' journey διὰ τῆς ὁφρύης τῆς ψάμμου (IV, 182), stretches through an uninhabitable tract of sand, it is more probable that his measurement must be taken from the boundary of the inhabited land of the one, to that of the next Oasis. The supposition that a considerable diameter, exclusive of these uniform intervals, must be allowed for each Oasis, by which the distance of each, west of Thebes, is greatly increased, is confirmed by the situation of two out of the five Oases with respect to the nations of the coast, about which there can be no doubt, because that is determined by the well-known Grecian colonies. Supposing that Augila (according to the notion of Herodotus) lies twenty days' journey, or 4000 stadia, west of Thebes, its place falls considerably to the east of a meridian line passing through Cyrene; but the Nasamones who resort thither for the purpose of gathering dates, dwell much to the west, even of Barca, as far as the Syrtis (IV, 171, 172). The same difficulty with respect to the Oasis of the Garamantes is perhaps still more striking. This is situated next to the Lotophagi, at a distance of thirty days' journey (IV, 183), which supposes them to lie directly south of that people; and thus, according to the measures of Herodotus for Egypt, the distance is correct for a country in the latitude of Thebes. But since the Lotophagi are only separated from the lake Triton by the Machlyes (IV, 178), we by this means obtain much more than 6000

stadia to the west of the longitude of Thebes. And yet we cannot doubt that the measures of this coast were well known to Herodotus; and moreover, in this respect, the errors would always lie on the side of excess, as the navigator followed the windings of the shore: if Herodotus wrote after a *Periplus*, he would certainly have placed the Lotophagi too much to the west, and too far from the Canopian mouth of the Nile.

If we turn from the interior of Africa to the coast, Herodotus (IV, 168—180) gives a catalogue of the nomad tribes of that region from Egypt to the lake Tritonis, in which list their places are fixed by means of well-known points on the seashore. I remark, by the way, that he was only acquainted with one Syrtis, viz. the Lesser. One should expect, as he describes (191—194) still more distant Libyan tribes, that here also he would have followed the coast; in which case he would have reached Carthage, and have been able to connect his *Periegesis* with this well-known point. But he observes a total silence respecting Carthage, and the whole of Punic Africa. The reason is, that he proceeds with his narrative in direct lines from east to west: that Punic Africa projects beyond the Syrtis he well knew, but it lies to the north of the strip of land which he pursued; and the Maxyes, the Zauces, and the Gyzantes, to express it according to our historical geography, dwell behind mount Atlas,

in the country of the Gætulians, or near Zab. That the gold island Cyraunis (c. 195) is no other than the one which in the geography of Eratosthenes, as in the Carthaginian voyages and discoveries, is called *Cerne*, where Hanno established his colony, is proved by the strongest evidence; and as that island lies off the country of the Gyzantes, this nation must dwell on the coast of the Atlantic, beyond the Pillars of Hercules. The circumstance of this region being expressly mentioned in the following chapter (196), where the *dumb commerce* is described, would, if there could be any reasonable doubt respecting its situation, rather confirm than oppose our view.

Hence, as three nations bring us at once to the Atlantic, it is not improbable that Herodotus may have contracted the distance between Carthage and the Pillars more than is represented in the accompanying map. It seemed however better, as no measures are given, not to deviate too far from the reality; for no one can pretend, by means of conjecture and hypothesis, to restore with accuracy the measures or outline of the map of the world as imagined by Herodotus.

I have not laid down the coast of the southern sea, which Herodotus does not pretend to know. His statement that the Macrobiani dwell on the shore of this sea, south of Egypt (III, 17), agrees exactly with the supposition that the Nile flows from the west. I have drawn

the Arabian gulf in its true direction, though not without considerable hesitation. Herodotus (II, 11) fixes its length at forty day's passage in a rowing boat, the breadth at only half a day's passage; which certainly does not at all correspond with the truth. We must however observe, by way of apology, that he had formed this notion from the gulf of Suez. But what is the measure of a day's passage in a rowing boat? It is, to my knowledge, nowhere mentioned, as are the other measures of the day's journey by land and sea; and it only occurs in Herodotus in this place, and in his statement of the measures of the Caspian sea, without explanation. Here, therefore, I am entirely at a loss for data to determine anything with probability. It may be doubted, whether the strength of a rower would allow him to make a greater distance in one day, than a traveller on foot could accomplish in that time, i. e. about 200 stadia. In this case the Arabian gulf would terminate in the South sea, under the latitude of Elephantina.

This also appears exactly to harmonize with his parallel (II, 11) between that gulf and the valley of the Nile in Egypt: which Herodotus views as two channels lying near each other in a reverse direction, open at one end, and closed at the other, so situated that if the closed end of that which represents the Arabian gulf were opened, and a junction made with that representing the valley of the Nile, the water

from the latter would flow through the former, and deposit in it its mud. Had Herodotus been aware that the length of the Arabian gulf is three times that of the valley of Egypt, he would not have reasoned as if the formation of the valley of the Nile were a greater work than that of the Arabian gulf (which is evidently implied in his words): but, on the contrary, he would have said, that even this might possibly, in the course of centuries be filled up by the stream.

That, according to this scale, the size of the Caspian sea would be too small (I, 203), viz. 3000 stadia in length, and 1600 in breadth, does not prove much against its correctness; but the admission of it would, with respect to Arabia, lead into insuperable difficulties, which I can only hope that others may be able to solve. For instance, Æthiopia lies beyond Egypt to the south. The country about Nysa, and that of the Macrobiani on the other side of it, require a large space. How then can the Arabians dwell the farthest to the south (III, 107), if the Arabian gulf opens into the southern sea as far north as the parallel of Elephantina? These statements can only be at all reconciled by supposing that both countries, Arabia and Æthiopia, reach south of the opening of the gulf, far into the southern sea, with coasts receding from each other.

An important datum for the determination of Arabia is contained in the statement (II, 8)

that "the Arabian chain of mountains from west to east measures two months' journey, (i. e. 12,000 stadia), from the edge of the valley of the Nile, to the region of frankincense." I say from *the edge of the valley of the Nile*, because the gulf is considered as inland, and not as a boundary of the country. But according to this, the region of frankincense cannot reach farther south than Upper Egypt, which does not agree with the former statement on the extension of Arabia to the south (III, 107). It may be, moreover, remarked, that no blame can be attached to Herodotus for considering the whole of Arabia as mountainous, as Arabia Petræa and the chain of mountains between the Nile and the Arabian gulf were alone known to him.

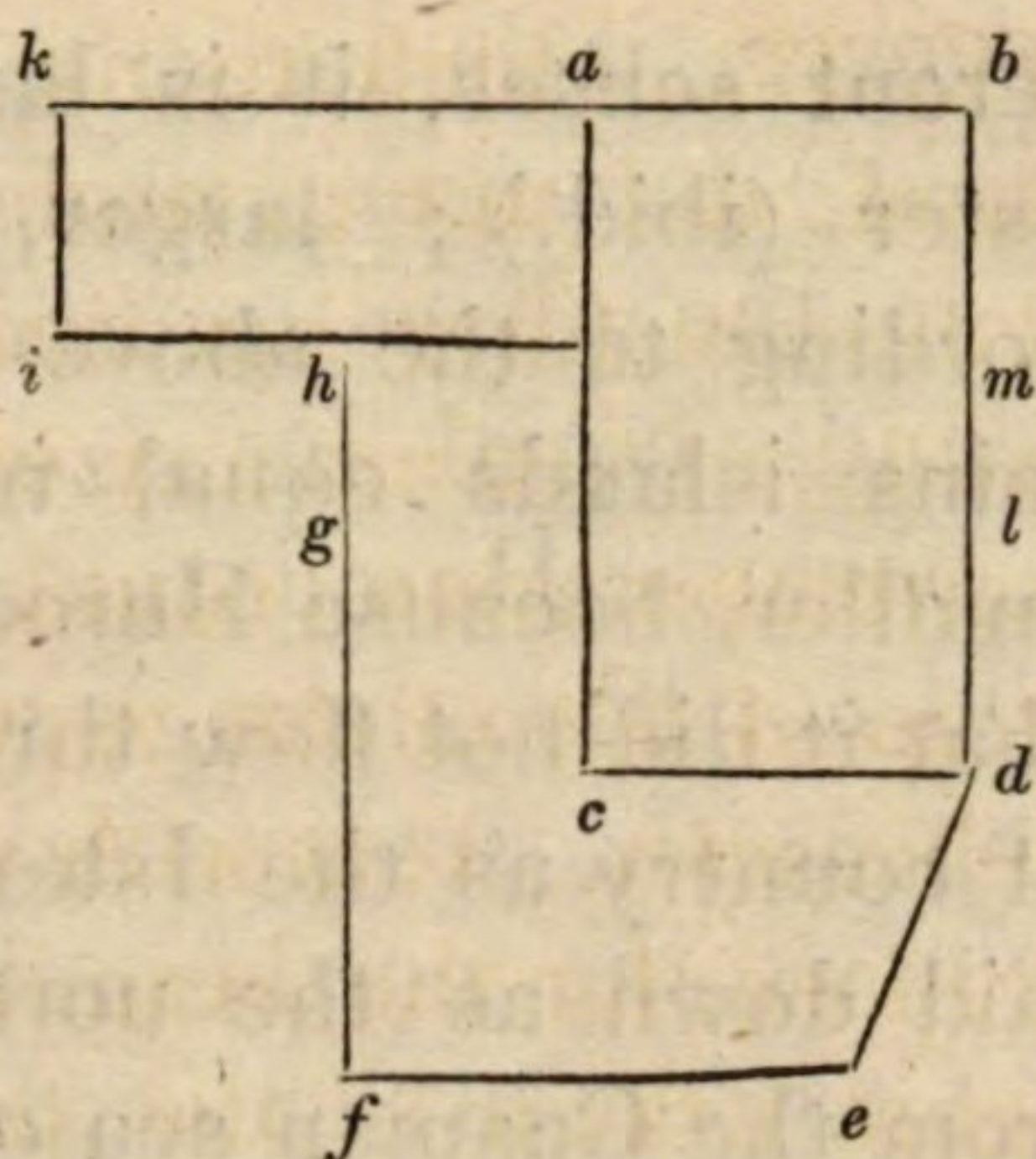
A land which juts out to a considerable distance into the sea, and has only one side joining the mainland, is in Greek called ἀκτὴ: hence Attica received its name, and the projecting land where Epidaurus and the three other cities^s independent of Argos were situated: χερσόνησος means *peninsula*, properly so called. We have only one word to express these two very different figures. I make this remark for the purpose of explaining why, in the following pages, I make use of the Greek word *actè*.

Herodotus, in his general description of Asia

^s Troezen, Hermione, and Asine.

(IV, 37), which to us is so difficult to understand, did not extend his views to readers at centuries after his time, who have no opportunity of seeing any of those maps which his contemporaries could examine, and which were, if not of the very same, of a similar form to his own. It is with considerable doubt that I propose, for the examination of my readers, the figure drawn in the annexed map. From the northern sea (IV, 37), into which the Phasis falls, to the southern, four nations dwell, viz. the Colchians, Saspirians, Medes, and Persians, in successive order, from north to south. From hence two *actè's* project in opposite directions to each other (*κατ' ἀντίης*). The first from the Phasis, ending on the southern coast at the Myriandrian bay. The second, stretching from Persia into the southern or Red sea, contains Persia, Assyria, and Arabia: between Phœnicia and the Persians is a great broad tract of land. But from Phœnicia this *actè* stretches *through this sea* (undoubtedly the Mediterranean) along Palæstine and Egypt. It were much to be wished that some easy explanation could be found for these words. As this is wanting, a doubt is thrown on the meaning of the remainder; otherwise, I should with some confidence take the following figure as the basis of my illustration, which, for want of an undoubted interpretation, is, for the most part, adopted in my map.

a b c d is the space from sea to sea inhabited by the Colchians, Saspirians, Medes, and Persians. *l e f g* the southern *actè*, *a k i h* the northern *actè*, and the land *h g l m* that towards which both incline, from



Phœnicia as far as the Persians; Syria, for instance, taken in a wide sense, Armenia, Matiene, etc. On the southern *actè* the Persians, Assyrians (Babylonians), and Arabians, succeed each other (*ἐκδέκονται*, IV, 39) from north to south: thus Babylon lies to the southwest of Susa. Herodotus clearly knows nothing of the Persian gulf. The road to Susa (V, 52, 53) fixes a maximum for the situation and distance for that city.

With regard to the course of the Araxes, the difficulties are chiefly created by seeking an explanation of the meaning of Herodotus from real geography: they may be removed if we simply abide by his different statements respecting this river. These are, that it takes its rise in the land of the Matieni (I, 202), by which we must understand Kourdistan, and which must be placed between Media and Armenia, since Herodotus includes in the latter the northern mountainous part of Mesopotamia⁵. Then, that in dif-

⁵ Οὗρος Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶν ποταμὸς Εὐφρότης, V, 52.

ferent senses, it is larger or smaller than the Ister (*ibid.*) ; larger, probably because, according to the above-quoted passage, it contains islands equal in size to Lesbos : but smaller, because Herodotus apparently thought that it did not flow through so great an extent of country as the Ister. Again, the Araxes is laid down as the northern boundary of Asia, from the Caspian sea onwards, for the countries to the east of the region which Herodotus assumes as the basis of his description of the figure of Asia (IV, 49) : and here lies the difficulty, viz. that although in the former passage its source is stated to be to the west of the Caspian sea, yet it is attempted to fix the thirty-nine mouths, by which it discharges itself into the marshes, not far from the place where it flows into the Caspian sea. But this is not necessary ; and we may compare the parallel case of the notion of Greek geographers up to Timæus inclusive, with regard to the course of the Ister : concerning which Herodotus, although he does not speak of it, probably believed, with all the rest, that a branch fell into the inner gulf of the Adriatic sea, while the main stream flowed on for many thousand stadia to the east.

The river, which Herodotus calls the Indus, also runs to the east and the rising of the sun (IV, 44). But from this we are not to infer that he supposed the Indians to be the inhabitants of its banks down to its mouths. Indeed, as he

says expressly of the Indians of Caspatyrus and the region of Pactyica, where the Indus, as the travels of the ancient Scylax testify, begins to be navigable, that they dwell to the north of the other Indians (III, 102):—it follows, that Herodotus supposed the country of these Indians to lie south of the Upper Indus. South of the river, or at its mouth, to the east of the Indians, is a sandy waste, the most distant known region of Asia to the east (III, 98).

A more correct knowledge of the Caspian sea is commonly ascribed to Herodotus than to the geography of Ptolemy, but probably without reason; for it cannot be shown that he supposed its length to be from north to south, as is actually the case. Indeed, as he represents this sea to be the *boundary* of Asia to the north (i. e. towards Europe), it is more probable that, with all the ancient geographers of later times, he imagined the length to run from west to east.

His error, in fixing the distance of Sinope and Cilicia at five days' journey, is extremely surprising, nay, almost incomprehensible, when we consider that it is a country which lay so near his native city, and through which he had travelled in his way to Upper Asia (II, 34). This distance, according to the usual scale, is not more than 1000 stadia; and if we reckon a day's journey of a speedy traveller at more than two hundred stadia, even then the amount remains inexplicably wide of the truth. The

fault, however, is not in the books, but in the writers; and it must have been a generally received opinion, since it is found even in Scylax, whose description of the coast is in general so accurate. It seems to me not improbable that, in order to unite the Euxine with the commercial stations on the Cilician shore, a post of couriers, like that of the Tartars in Turkey, was established between these sea ports and Sinope; and that the regular conveyance of letters in five days was mistaken for the speed of a common foot messenger.

The figure also which Thrace and Scythia must assume, according to the most indisputable passages, is certainly very singular. These countries were separated by the Ister. In another treatise^h I have shown, that in the map of Herodotus we must suppose the course of the river, as far as it separates these two nations, to run from north to south, in a contrary direction to that of the Nile through Egypt; in the same manner that the latter flowing from the west bends its course to the north, and, in the opinion of Herodotus (II, 34), falls into the sea under the same meridian as the Ister. On this supposition alone can Scythia assume the quadrangular form which Herodotus (IV, 101) expressly assigns it, each side measuring 4000 stadia. A meaning can only thus be discovered for the expression

^h See below, p. 40.

ἡ Θρηκη πρόκειται τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὸ εἰς θάλασσαν (IV, 99): and unquestionably Herodotus never could have said that the country to the *north* of Thrace, beyond the Ister, appears all to be desert and boundless (V, 9), unless he had supposed the regions on the other side of the river, which at that time comprehended the Scythians (as far as the boundaries of Bannat) to lie *east* of Thrace. Had he confined this country to its true limits, he could not have called the Thracians the greatest nation next to the Indians (V, 3); but he followed his own map, in which it actually appears so.

The figure of Scythia is made completely erroneous, by the supposition that it is a square, and that the distance from the highest point where the Scythians dwelt on the Ister, as far as the Tanais, is not greater than from the north of the Ister to the lake Mæotis. A second reason why his outline of this country is irreconcilable with the reality is, that Herodotus was not aware of the Crimea being a peninsula. He knew that its promontory projected into the Pontus; but he considered the land where the Tauri dwelt to be only an *actè*, like Japygia or Attica (IV, 99). Therefore, as the lake Mæotis, taken from north to south, forms the eastern boundary of Scythia, it is evident where we must look for the wall which the runaway slaves threw up on the return of the Scythians from Asia, and which they had extended from the Taurian

mountains to the lake Mæotis. It was probably in the Crimea, not however near Perikop, but to the west of the Bosphorus, over which, at an earlier period, the Cimmerians fled when dislodged by the Scythians.

The succession of the Scythian rivers and tribes, and the situation of the nations beyond the Scythians, are so easily arranged from these data, and agree so entirely with the accounts of Herodotus, that it is sufficient to refer to his text (IV, 17—27, 47—57, 99—101), and to the map. In like manner, for the Pontus and Propontis, it is sufficient to refer to IV, 85, 86; for Egypt to II, 6—9; for the road from Sardis to Susa to V, 52, 53. The Persian satrapies, and similar notices, are omitted in the map, and must be left to the writers on historical geography, in which they will be more easily used than in any attempt to adapt them to the imagined map of Herodotus.

I may remark, in conclusion, that in my map Italy is drawn with the figure which results from the description of Scylax, in whose Periplus the Adriatic is represented as reaching very far north; while the country between the Po and the Arno is very narrow, with the same error as Asia Minor.

NOTE (A).

The words of Diodorus are as follows: τῶν γὰρ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας ἀναγεγραφότων Ἑκαταῖος καὶ τινες ἕτεροί φασιν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέραν τῆς Κελτικῆς τόποις κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν εἶναι νῆσον οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Σικελίας. ταύτην ὑπάρχειν μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, κατοικεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Ὑπερβορέων ἀπὸ τοῦ πορρωτέρω κεῖσθαι τῆς βορείου πνοῆς, κ. τ. λ. It appears, however, that the person here alluded to is not (as is assumed in the text) Hecataeus of Miletus, who is stated to have flourished about the 65th Olympiad (520—517 B. C.), whom we know from Herodotus to have taken part in the deliberations of the Ionians before their revolt, and whose Εὐρώπη is mentioned in this dissertation (above p. 14.); but Hecataeus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, who, among other historical works, wrote a treatise περὶ Ὑπερβορέων (Aelian N. A. XI. 1. Steph. Byz. in Ἑλίξοια and Καραμβύκαι), from which several writers agree that the account of Diodorus is taken (see Vossius *de Hist. Græc.* p. 53. *Museum Criticum*, vol. i. p. 101). This passage is therefore inapplicable to Mr. Niebuhr's purpose. Hellanicus, however, had mentioned the Hyperboreans in a prose work, probably earlier than the history of Herodotus. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vol. i. p. 359, ed. Potter. Τοὺς δὲ Ὑπερβορέους Ἑλλάνικος ὑπὲρ τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη οἰκεῖν ἱστορεῖ, διδάσκεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς δικαιοσύνην, μὴ κρεωφαγοῦντας ἀλλ' ἀκροδρῦοις χρωμένους. τοὺς ἐξηκονταετείς οὗτοι ἔξω πυλῶν ἄγοντες ἀφανίζουσιν. Müller, in his work on the Dorians (Book II. c. iv.), attempts to show that the Hyperboreans were in the beginning a fictitious people, derived from the fables connected with the worship of Apollo, which was propagated from the north of Greece. They were imagined to live an enchanted life, free from care and trouble, singing praises and offering sacrifices to their god, on the farther side of the Rhipæan mountains, in which the north wind was supposed to

spring, and thus they were exempt from cold, and enjoyed an eternal summer. The geographers, however, not content that this fiction should remain the exclusive property of the poetical religion of the Greeks, sought to furnish the Hyperboreans with a local habitation in real geography: and attempted to identify them with some real nation. The passage of Hellanicus, in which the custom of destroying aged persons, an abomination both anciently and at the present time practised by some savage tribes, is ascribed to this holy people, affords a good instance of the manner in which the usages of remote barbarians were attributed to this offspring of the imagination.

RESEARCHES
INTO THE
HISTORY OF THE SCYTHIANS, GETÆ,
AND SARMATIANS.

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THE internal history of the hunting and pastoral tribes in the north of Asia bears throughout an uniform character: that of the Huns and Mongols is the same, nor can that of the Massagetæ have been different. The rude nomad of one period, both in his nature and the events to which that nature gives rise, is, like his herds, the exact counterpart of those who in former ages had traversed the same steppes. The only change ever wrought in these races arose from the adoption of a new religion. This uniformity corresponds with the absence of all distinction between individuals, who resemble each other as much as some kinds of animals in their savage state. It is said, that whoever has seen one American Indian, has seen all; and Hippocrates remarks, that all the Scythians resembled each other¹. They are wanting in

¹ Τὰ εἶδεα ὅμοια ἀντὰ ἑωυτέοις εἰσίν. *De Aëre, Aquis, et Locis*, p. 292, A. ed. Foes.

the higher attributes of history, the essence of which consists in the energy, talents, and actions of particular individuals; nor is the loss of their annals to be regretted. But in their external movements, they come into relation with more cultivated nations; and even when they are thrown into collision with tribes of their own class, or change their habitation, and dislodge each other, such events belong to the history of the tribes and families of the human species, which forms an essential part of natural history. In both respects the Scythians justly engage the attention of the historical philologist. They came in contact with the Greeks, though it was only in their distant colonies; and the fate of the polished was determined by that of the barbarous nation: the commerce carried on with them was a source of great profit, and constant supply, to the most flourishing Grecian cities; and it is interesting to inquire how, in those countries, where one wandering people after another has appeared and perished, the same succession had many ages before prevailed; and to ascertain the circumstances of their arrival and disappearance in the steppes about the Black sea. Indeed there are other results of still greater importance to which such researches pave the way in the history of the Gallic and Sarmatian migrations.

But all inquiries on the Scythians would be fruitless if there were any foundation for what has been asserted by an historian, whose au-

thority upon the history of the barbarous tribes of those regions was in his own time great: viz. that the Scythians were not a distinct and substantive nation, but that the ignorance and superficial knowledge of the ancients designated by this name all the wandering nations north of the Danube, as far as the boundless icy deserts of northern Asia, in the same way that they called all this part of the world Scythia. The too common confusion of the most different periods comprised in ancient literature has given rise to this assertion; and the author of it, from his aversion to everything antique and classical, eagerly seized this opportunity of treating the historians and geographers of Greece with contempt. It is certainly true that the writers of the twelve centuries which elapsed from the decline of the Roman to the destruction of the Eastern empire give the name of Scythians to all the tribes which emerged from the region of ancient Scythia; and Strabo, as well as Pliny, makes Scythia reach over the whole tract of Siberia. In the third century the Goths, and afterwards the Huns, are mentioned by that name. That every Tartar race which succeeded them in the Nogays and Ukraine, and lastly the Mongols and Crim Tartars, should be all included under this name is the more excusable, as by their close resemblance in character, nature, and customs, any person who did not remember the constant changes in the population

of the steppes, might be misled to consider them as the successors of that people which Herodotus thought worthy of description, as having a national character; and Hippocrates as being a physically distinct variety of mankind. It is only by these descriptions and observations that the peculiarities of the true Scythians, and the limits of their history, can be determined. The errors of later writers only deserve attention, so far as the causes of them may be discovered in the destinies of this nation, and the erroneous conclusions founded upon them be thereby weakened.

Herodotus speaks as an eyewitness of the fountain Exampæus near the Hypanis^a; nor could he have conversed anywhere than in Scythia itself, with a steward of Ariapithes². His whole narrative is partly that of an eyewitness, partly of a traveller who had collected the oral accounts of the natives. From internal evidence it may also be inferred that he had not seen the Greek cities in the Taurian peninsula, and on the Bosphorus, but that Olbia was the farthest point of his travels. Hence, notwithstanding the general excellence of his accounts, his mistake about the Crimea,

^a IV, 81. "Ὅς δὲ μὴ εἰδὲ κω τοῦτον, ὧδε δηλώσω.

² "Ἡκουσα Τίμνενω τοῦ Ἀριαπίθεος ἐπιτρόπου, HEROD. IV, 76. The word ἐπίτροπος cannot well be applied to a guardian of Ariapithes, since the king must be meant, the father of Scyles, whose unhappy end, about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, is related by HERODOTUS, IV, 80. The minority of the father must, however, be considered as many years anterior.

which he supposed not to be a peninsula, but only an *actè*³, advancing into the Pontus, like Japygia or Attica.

I have remarked elsewhere that, although Herodotus is so decided in limiting geography to actual observation, he nevertheless indulged himself in framing a map of the earth, which, like that of Hecatæus, was arranged in a symmetrical and fanciful manner; as in other things the most complete empiric often proceeds on arbitrary hypotheses and axioms. This is shown in a striking manner in the figure which he draws of Scythia, in respect of its absolute regularity and its disagreement with the true shape of the country. He considers it to be a square, of which each side measures 4000 stadia: i. e. 2000 from the Ister to the Borysthenes, the same from the Borysthenes to lake Mæotis: another 4000 from the sea (i. e. the Pontus on the south-east coast of the Crimea, between the mountains and the Bosphorus) to the Melanchlæni⁴. Here the problem is to find the real boundaries which Herodotus in his imaginary figure has misplaced. D'Anville perceived that he includes the plains of Wallachia in Scythia, and that the Tiarantus, between which and the Pruth there are three rivers flowing towards the Ister⁵, must be the Aluta; moreover, there can be no doubt that the Danube, according to his view, was the

³ IV, 99. Even Scylax calls it an *ἀκρωτήριον*.

⁴ IV, 101.

⁵ IV, 48.

boundary between the Thracians and Scythians, on the banks of which the armies of both people encamped opposite each other⁶. Thus the Ister must be considered as one side of the square: however irreconcilable this may be with the truth. This difficulty is entirely removed by a happy thought of professor Ideler. The Ister must be supposed to flow from the north, at least from the point where it enters the plains of the Triballi, and separates them from the Agathyrsi, having previously, farther to the north, run from west to east. This double direction completely explains the parallel which Herodotus assumes between this river and the Nile⁷: for, according to his geography, the river of Libya flows eastward as far as the borders of Egypt, and then turns to the north. We must remark, by the way, that the historian supposes the direction of the mouths of the Ister not to be exactly south, but south-east⁸; and this greatly confirms the general truth of the above ingenious hypothesis, which is all that is desired. The assumed winding of the Ister to the south, on which supposition Scythia lies to the east of Thrace⁹, explains how Herodotus conceived the country beyond the Ister to the north of Thrace to be an unknown desert¹⁰, when, in

⁶ IV, 80.⁷ II, 26; IV, 49, 50.⁸ IV, 101.⁹ See above, p. 28.¹⁰ Τὸ πρὸς βορρῶν ἔτι τῆς χώρας ταύτης οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρικέες — ἀλλὰ πένην ἤδη τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἔρημος χώρα φαίνεται εἶναι, V, 9.

point of fact, Scythia and the Agathyrsi lay on the other side of it. In consequence of this distortion, by which the Triballi are placed nearly 400 geographical miles too far north, he supposes that region to lie on the other side of the Ister, under the circle of the Bear¹¹; and the Thracians to be the greatest nation upon earth after the Indians¹². We thus gain sufficient space for the disproportionate extension of the Adriatic sea assumed by Scylax, who places its innermost angle near the Ister, an arm of which falls into it.

The corresponding parallel of the eastern boundary is not less distorted. Herodotus does not suppose it to be the Mæotic lake, or the Tanais, but a line dividing that lake and separating the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatæ¹³. As he supposed the lake Mæotis to be not much smaller than the Pontus, the greatest length of which he reckons at more than 11,000 stadia¹⁴, it can at the most be admitted that he conceived the Scythians to extend to the mouth of the Tanais:—a determination which, like all others of the same kind, is as certain as the figure which results from it is false. He might with tolerable accuracy have taken the line from the Aluta to the mouth of the Don as the chord of an arc, and the whole of Scythia as the segment of the

¹¹ Τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον, V, 10.

¹² V, 3.

¹³ IV, 57.

¹⁴ IV, 86.

circle : instead of which he regarded its northern boundary between these points as the fourth side of a square of 160,000 geographical square miles, sixteen millions of square stadia. Hippocrates conceives the Rhipæan mountains to form this northern boundary¹⁵, undoubtedly following Hecataeus, the author (at least amongst the Greeks) of the legend of the Hyperboreans, who are inseparably connected with the supposed existence of that icy ridge¹⁶. Herodotus ridicules the idea of the Hyperboreans beyond the seat of the cold wind, as if he positively denied the existence of the Rhipæan chain, the name of which does not occur in his work ; nor does he suppose them to lie to the north of the nations which, according to his description, encircle Scythia, as with a girdle, from the Ister to the Tanais. Here also we have additional evidence that he made inquiries at Olbia respecting this country : where he was informed, that in advancing far to the north no chain of mountains was anywhere to be found, but only large morasses, like lakes, such as those in Volhynia. The Rhipæan mountains, however, were no invention of Hecataeus. The accounts on which he relied must have been derived from the colonies of his countrymen at the mouths of the Ister, who

¹⁵ *Κεῖται ὑπ' αὐταῖς ταῖς ἄρκτοις, καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν τοῖς Ῥιπαίοισιν ὄθεν ὁ βορέης πνέει.* HIPPOCRATES, p. 291, F.

¹⁶ Thus in STRABO, VII, p. 295, *ὅτι τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη καὶ τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους μυθοποιούντες.*

would have heard from those who brought their goods down the river to their markets, that to the left of the Ister there is a high chain of mountains—the Dacian and Carpathian Alps—from which the frosty winds blow which cover the Danube in Wallachia with solid ice^b. This then was soon made the habitation of Boreas, instead of mount Hæmus; and any one who heard that in the favourable season Bulgaria enjoys a milder climate than Thrace, might naturally infer that on the farther side of the most northern range a much finer climate must prevail throughout the year. Still the close connection between northern regions and piercing cold forced itself into notice, which strengthened the opinion that the Ister flowed from the north: and thus the Rhipæan mountains were first supposed to run north of the Pontus, parallel with the coast between the Ister and the Tyras, and afterwards to stretch eastward across the whole of Scythia as far as the Tanais.

Herodotus, as his information was derived from Olbia¹⁷, begins his description at that

^b All that is here said of Hecataeus of Miletus must fall to the ground, if the argument of the Editor, above, note A, p. 31, is correct.

¹⁷ He mentions the *Καλλιπίδαι* and *Ἀλαζῶνες*, the former being Scythian Greeks (IV, 17), the latter in contradistinction to the agricultural Scythians: which clearly implies that they were of an entirely different race of people. The former are certainly the same as the *Καρπίδαι* of EPHORUS, between the Ister and Olbia, in the fragments of SCYMNUS CHIUS, which are contained in the *Periplus of the Pontus Euxinus* (*Geogr. Græci*, HUDS. I, *Peripl. P. Eux.* p. 3. GRONOVII *Geogr.* p. 137); and in the same passage *εἰτ' Ἀλα-*

place. Of the inhabitants of the region west of the Tyras he says nothing: the rivers only were known to him. The Olbiopolitæ, whose extensive industry was furnished with raw materials by the three rivers, the Dnieper, Bog, and Dniester, had no commercial relations with these countries; although some of their merchants, by gaining over the hordes with presents and tribute, might have reached the Don, and even the gold district of Orenburg; but the commerce of those parts must generally have been in the possession of the cities on the Bosphorus. The nomad Scythians confined their changes of abode to the Nogays, on the left of the Dnieper. The roving movements of the royal Scythians, whose wealthy hordes considered all the rest as their slaves¹⁸, extended over the eastern parts of the steppe about the river Donetz¹⁹, to the lake Mæotis, and in the Crimea. The agricultural Scythians on the Dnieper and in Podolia are doubtless not represented as subjects merely on account of their mode of life; but they were probably a vanquished people, and could only have been considered as Scythians, from the circumstance of their

ζῶνας is concealed in the corrupted words εἴτ' ἂν Ἀρωτῆρα. Vossius has observed the former, and mistaken the latter.

¹⁸ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι. HEROD. IV, 20.

¹⁹ Since this river, turning to the east, flows away from the Dnieper, it is evident why the Olbiopolitæ considered it as a branch of that river, in the same manner that the error might easily originate that it fell into the Mæotis instead of the Don.

conquerors dwelling amongst them as a privileged order. Besides, although Budzack, a country so well suited to the nomadic life, may have attracted some wandering tribes, it is not probable that the more distant regions to the west of the Pruth were occupied by them: those regions, as to whose great extent Herodotus was mistaken, since, according to his erroneous outline, he measured their breadth in the interior by the distance between the mouths of the Ister and the Tyras. The Greeks on the Pontus might reasonably include in Scythia the champaign country as far as western Wallachia, even though it was inhabited by a very different race of people, the subjects of the royal Scythians, which tribe was prevented by the mountains and the river from farther extending their conquests.

With respect to the *origin* of the Scythians, the account of the Pontic Greeks was, that being driven across the Araxes by the Massagetæ they had made an inroad upon the Cimmerians²⁰: and Herodotus saw the evident probability of their having migrated from northern Asia. The statement in the poems which bore the name of Aristeas, was perhaps still more accurate; viz. “that from the north-east (that is from the regions about Orenburg) the different nations had successively driven each other onwards, viz. the Arimaspians the Isse-

²⁰ IV, 11.

done, —the Issedones the Scythians, —and the Scythians the Cimmerians²¹.” That the Scythians were a Mongolian tribe, is placed beyond a doubt by the descriptions of the two great cotemporaries. Hippocrates describes their gross and bloated bodies, their joints buried in fat, their swollen bellies, and their scanty growth of hair²². I have already spoken of their universal resemblance in countenance and figure, which applies as little to the Tartars as to the Sclavonians or Germans. This is a picture of the native tribes of northern Asia, for whom there is no more generally suitable name than that of *Mongols*. The Chinese Mongolian remedy of burning²³, which the Scythians universally employed —the state of their bodies —as well as their mode of life and customs : —all point to this race of mankind. The adoration of the god of war under the figure of a holy scymetar²⁴, which took place at the time of Attila, and again at the elevation of Gengis Khan, is a Mongolic custom; the milking of mares, the huts made of skins, the swinish filthiness, the paste with which the women plaster themselves²⁵, in order from time to time to

²¹ IV, 13. Whoever was the author of these poems, which could not have been more ancient than the 60th Olympiad (540—537 B. C.), he must have visited the Grecian cities on the Scythian coast.

²² Τὰ εἶδεα αὐτῶν παχέα ἐστὶ καὶ σαρκώδεα καὶ ἄρθρα (leg. ἀναρθρα) καὶ ὑγρὰ καὶ ἄτονα, αἱ τε κοιλίαι ὑγρόταται πασέων —διὰ πιμελὴν καὶ ψιλὴν τὴν σάρκα, τὰ τε εἶδεα ἔοικεν ἀλλήλοισιν τὰ τε ἄρσενα τοῖς ἄρσεσιν, καὶ τὰ θήλεα τοῖς θήλεσιν, HIPPOCRATES, p. 292, B. C.

²³ Ibid. C.

²⁴ HEROD. IV, 62.

²⁵ IV, 75.

remove the filth which closely adhered to their bodies—their sluggish listlessness—all these are Siberian features, and neither Sclavonian nor Germanic. Again, intoxication from the vapour of hemp seeds placed on red-hot stones and confined under close coverlets²⁶ is Siberian; only Herodotus confounds this with the vapour baths which the barbarians in those parts enjoyed, and perhaps carried to a luxurious excess. The chief enjoyment of the Sarmatians was to be on horseback; and, whilst they dwelt on the steppe, it was probably their custom, as being more convenient, instead of pitching their tents²⁷ on every occasion, to keep them upon wagons ready for marching. This however is not proved; nor is it anywhere related of them, as it is of the Scythians, that the men passed the whole day upon their horses, and that the women and children were huddled together in wagons²⁸. Besides, when the Cimbri and, half a century afterwards, the Goths carried their wives and children with them in numerous wagons, these were migrations of agricultural tribes, who took with them their carts and teams, and their own means of transport, in order to alleviate the long journey and to convey their property to the destined

²⁶ IV, 75.

²⁷ These tents must have been light: Æschylus mentions the Scythian *πλεκταὶ στέγαι*: a frame-work of twisted osiers merely to keep the covering of hides extended (Prom. 734).

²⁸ HIPPOCRATES, I, p. 292, D. E.

settlement. It is only in their numbers, that they differ from the mode in which families in North America advance hundreds of miles into the wilderness.

The Slavonians and Germans have certainly no cause to lament that they have no connection with such a nation; if any farther proof was required it would be furnished by the Scythian words mentioned by Herodotus. Whether these, or something like these, occur in any languages of northern Asia, I have no collections of words to enable me to determine. I can venture, however, to affirm, that in no Tschudian dialect there are even apparent resemblances, which can favour the hypothesis that the Scythians belonged to the Finnish race. All conjectures as to the descent of nations which rest only on names are extremely uncertain; but there is no conceivable connection between that of *Scythians* (which had perhaps belonged to an earlier people before it was applied by the Pontic Greeks to the Scoloti)²⁹ and *Tschud*, a contemptuous name, arising from the hereditary hatred of the Russians to the Fins.

The period of their migration into the Nogays may be determined with tolerable accuracy, if the appearance of the Cimmerians in Lydia in the reign of Ardys were the immediate consequence of their defeat, and if the

²⁹ HEROD. IV, 6.

invasion of king Madyes be regarded as a pursuit of the fugitives. The last is inconsistent with the account of the slaves having revolted during the long absence of the Scythians in Media; for this supposes an established empire, and a permanent settlement in those regions. Still, without attaching any importance to this statement, it must have been the riches and fertility of Asia which attracted the wild nomads: it could not have been the mere desire of pursuing a nation, who retired without even an attempt to maintain their ground, and consequently could not have awakened the animosity of their enemies by an obstinate resistance. Strabo also informs us that long before that invasion, in which they took Sardes, the Cimmerians had ravaged Asia Minor³⁰. I have remarked elsewhere that an expedition of king Asserhaddon to the Hellespont, about the 20th Olympiad, was probably occasioned by some such irruption of the barbarians, against whom the nations of the peninsula had implored his assistance³¹. The Grecian colonies on the Pontus were not established till after the fall of the Assyrian empire:—Istrus, the most ancient on the other side of the Hænius, about the time that the Scythians subdued Media:—Odessus, in the reign of As-tyages³². Thus they could have had no know-

³⁰ STRABO, I, p. 61, D. Before the time of Archilochus, XIV, p. 647, D; 648, A.

³¹ *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i, p. 206.

³² *Peripl. Ponti Eux.* ed. HUDS. p. 12, 13; *Geogr. Antiq.* GRONOVII, p. 157, 160.

ledge of these migrations, except from the traditions which had been preserved amongst the Scythians: and it is easy to conceive how these accounts passed over the interval between the expulsion of the Cimmerians and the expedition to Media. Hence Eratosthenes could reasonably attribute to Hesiod a verse in which the Scythian Hippemolgi are mentioned with other nations of the most remote parts of the earth³³.

From such accounts Herodotus thought that the Cimmerians in their flight from the Bosphorus had traversed the shores of the Black sea, and passing through Colchis entered Asia Minor across the Halys. For this reason he also mentions the two roads which led from the shore of the Mæotis into Asia—the shorter one along the Phasis, and the longer to the left of Caucasus (by Derbend)—the Scythians took the longer and thus overran Media³⁴. Here he has undoubtedly been misled. All the wandering tribes which have successively occupied Scythia, when overpowered by new swarms from the east, have retired to the open country to the west and towards the Danube; there is

³³ STRABO, VII, p. 300, D. 'Ἡσίοδος ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' Ἐρατοσθένους παρατεθειμένοι ἔπεσιν.

Αἰθίοπας, Λιγυστὶ δὲ, Σκύθας ἱππημολγούς.

Heyne has here perceived that for *ι δὲ*, before *Σκύθας*, *ἡ δὲ* should be written: but he wishes, improperly, to substitute Libyes in the place of Ligyes, and without any reason changes the accusative three times into the nominative. The true reading is without doubt

Αἰθίοπας, Λιγύας τ' ἡ δὲ Σκύθας ἱππημολγούς.

³⁴ HEROD. IV, 12, I, 103, 104.—ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσιν.

no single instance of their taking the other route, for which they would first have required ships for the passage of the Bosphorus, and then have had to climb the Caucasus, and, with exertions no less arduous than those of Hannibal in the Alps, must have forced their way through its passes and defiles. What gave occasion to the above supposition, and induced Herodotus to adopt it, was doubtless the traces of the Cimmerians on the Bosphorus, which bears their name : where up to his time Cimmerian fortresses and a Cimmerian strait still preserved their name and memory³⁵. Yet these facts only show that a part of the nation had remained behind in that corner of the Crimea, and had kept possession of it up to the time of the Grecian settlements. Their arrival in Asia Minor from the east might also appear to be confirmed by their having established themselves in the eastern parts of it at Sinope, which they occupied as being a strongly fortified place³⁶ : where, on a peninsula well fitted for defence, and happily provided with a productive tunny fishery, the weaker part of them could remain behind under the protection of a few warriors, and their collected booty be stored in safety. Retiring into this impregnable asylum when pressed by the Assyrian armies, they may perhaps for many years,

³⁵ IV, 12.

³⁶ IV, 12, τὴν Χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλληνὶς οἰκίσται. Comp. Scymnus, the fragments of Holstenius, V, 204 sqq.

until Alyattes subdued them, have made excursions into all parts of Asia Minor: in the same way that the Galatæ, whose arrival across the Hellespont is an historical fact, established themselves not far from Sinope in the fastnesses of Phrygia. As then, on the one hand, the opinion which misled Herodotus is only supported by delusive appearances, so on the other, the tombs of the Cimmerian kings near the Tyras³⁷, directly confirm the supposition that the changes of the population was in that ancient time such as the circumstances of the country have ever since produced. The kings fell there in a last decisive battle, which must have been misconceived, as in the tradition preserved by Herodotus, if the narrators believed in the migration by mount Caucasus.

The Cimmerians were likewise nomads who had the custom of milking their mares, and the wagons with which they encamped on the Cayster³⁸ had doubtless been their habitations in the steppes: they are probably the valiant *Hippemolgi* in the Iliad³⁹, on whom Jupiter

³⁷ IV, 11.

³⁸ CALLIMACHUS, Hymn. Dian. 252, Λύγδαμις—ἐπὶ στρατὸν ἱππημολγῶν ἤγαγε Κιμμερίων. v. 257, "Ὅσων ἐν λειμῶνι Καῦστρίῳ ἔσταν ἄμαξαι. It cannot be supposed that Callimachus transferred this from the Scythians to the Cimmerians: he had read the description of these destructive hordes in the contemporary poets, such as CALLINUS.

³⁹ Iliad N. 3.

————— αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαεινῶ,
νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν,
Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγανῶν Ἴππημολγῶν,
γλακτοφάγων Ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.

cast his eyes in looking from Ida towards Thrace. The poet distinguishes them from the Abii, who fed upon milk, the most upright of men. *Abii* is certainly as much a proper name as that of any other nation; and if, in answer to the objections of critics, a proof of this were required from the period when that word no longer existed in geography, it will be sufficient that they were mentioned in Æschylus as *Gabii*⁴⁰; the epithet joined to their name served perhaps to distinguish them from the Hippemolgi, because their herds did not consist of horses, but of the cattle of more civilized pastoral tribes. The verse of Hesiod which Ephorus had quoted⁴¹, probably refers also to this nation, though the Scythians were mentioned in other poems which bore the name of Hesiod. According to the above mentioned passage in the Iliad, the land of the Abii must be looked for in the region of Thrace, i. e. near the Ister: Didymus likewise called them a Thracian people⁴². Their character for justice continued when their name alone survived; and Æschylus, in his Prometheus Unbound celebrates their happy life, in a country where the earth produced everything without labour;

⁴⁰ STEPH. Byz. in v. "Αβιοι.

⁴¹ Γλακτοφάγων εἰς αἶαν, ἀπήναις οἰκί' ἔχόντων. From the fourth book of EPHORUS, entitled Europe; STRABO VII, p. 302. The use of the word γλακτοφάγος, both in this verse and in the passage of Homer, seems to show that from an appellative it had become the regular proper name, like Μελάγχλαινος, etc.

⁴² STEPH. in v. "Αβιοι.

by which he either signified their justice, or supposed it to be rewarded.

From these ancient fables later writers, such as Ephorus, transferred the same praise to the Scythians, representing virtue as the consequence of their poor and simple life :—in accordance with the opinion of those who consider education and knowledge as the sources of vice : at which Herodotus and Hippocrates, who were acquainted with the savage and brutal manners of the Scythians, would have smiled. But even at the present time the fidelity of the Bedouins and the beneficence of the Calmucks are subjects of praise. It is surprising that any commendation⁴³ of Scythian justice should be cited from Æschylus, since Prometheus, in the extant tragedy, warns the defenceless fugitive against the predatory tribes of Scythians^c. However long writers may have trifled on this point, it is difficult to believe that the prudence and wisdom of the Scythians could have been extolled in any other sense than that in which Herodotus takes it, viz. that nomads would maintain their independence by retreating before a conqueror who was in quest of tributary subjects. The very obscure passage in Thucydides⁴⁴ appears

⁴³ Ἰππάκης βρωτῆρες εὐνομοὶ Σκύθαι. STRABO, VII, p. 301, A.

^c Prom. Vinct. 737. Blomfield.

⁴⁴ II, 97, οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ ξύνεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται. He had previously said that the power of the Thracians, however great under the Odrysian kings, was much inferior to that of the Scythians; but that there was no nation either in

to me to mean that their rudeness and ignorance afford the only means of explaining why, notwithstanding their numbers and martial spirit, they had not subdued the neighbouring nations, and particularly the Thracians.

The high antiquity of the passage in the *Iliad* before quoted, is also placed out of doubt by the fact that the Mysians are represented as still dwelling in Thrace: for Homer could surely have had no wish to carry his hearers back to the circumstances of times long past. An ancient epic poet would rather have represented nations which had changed their habitation, as having at the Trojan war been established in countries which they did not occupy till a much later period; thus, for instance, he places the Phrygians on the Ascanian lake; whereas, according to Xanthus, they did not pass the Hellespont from Thrace till after the destruction of Troy⁴⁵. The Thracian origin of the Mysians is not less certain than that of the Bithynians: that a pressure from the north was the cause of the migration of all these

Asia or Europe who could oppose the Scythians if they were united. Therefore disunion and rudeness made them weak.

⁴⁵ STRABO, XIV, p. 680, D. The same confusion of the Trojans and Phrygians in the Tragedians, is like that of the Tyrrhenians and Etruscans: nor is the time when Pelops was first called a Phrygian more ancient. For this reason, the tradition of his arrival from the region of Sipylus may be ancient, as also that of his settlement in the Peloponnesus: but it relates to times when those countries of Asia were still occupied by Mæonian and Pelasgian tribes: and the migration of Pelops into the peninsula which bears his name, like the pretended expeditions of the Tyrrhenians, is only an expression for the affinity of the nations on both shores of the Ægean sea.

three nations is not more doubtful; and it is highly probable that the Cimmerians were the occasion of this great movement⁴⁶. A distant pressure of this kind was felt through a whole series of countries. I do not doubt that the Thracian invaders drove the Lydians from the interior, and were the cause of their subjugating the Thessalian, Tyrrhenian, or Pelasgian population of Mæonia: that thus the sovereignty passed from the Mæonian Heraclidæ (whose dependence upon Assyria was indicated by their descent from Belus) to the Lydian Mermnadæ; and perhaps this is the migration of the Carians in Strabo; as they and the Lydians regarded each other as brethren.

⁴⁶ If the Treres who destroyed Magnesia on the Mæander (STRABO, XIV, p. 647, D) were Thracians, as there was still a people of that name in Upper Bulgaria, on the frontiers of the Triballi, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, they had probably at that time left their country. STRABO also says (I, p. 61, D) that the Treres, with their king Cobus, were driven out by the Cimmerians: in contradiction to the passage just cited, where he calls the Treres a Cimmerian nation. It is no less surprising that he should mention Madys as the Cimmerian king who subdued them: for a few lines before he speaks of Madys the Scythian conqueror, who cannot well be conceived to be a different person from the Madyes, who, according to Herodotus, conquered Upper Asia. But this remarkable passage has suffered many corruptions. Among these is the appellation Κώβου τοῦ Τρωδός, which, in accordance with the following passage (τοὺς Τρηήρας καὶ Κώβον ἐξελαθῆναι φασι), must be altered to Κώβου τοῦ Τρηρός. He retreated with his people before a more powerful nation, and then advanced as a conqueror into more distant parts. As I have been induced to mention the Magnesians, I will just remark how extremely improbable it is that their two cities in Asia Minor, on the Mæander and on the Sipylus, so far from the sea, should both have been founded from Greece; an event as to which there was no tradition extant, as there was of the Ionians and Æolians. As the Pelasgians of Cyzicus were called Thessalians, and the Magnetes were unquestionably of the Pelasgic race, those in Asia were doubtless anything rather than Grecian colonies, but had remained unchanged from the times anterior to the Lydian dominion.

Herodotus only mentions three events in the history of the Scythians—First, that they subdued the Median empire, and also Asia as far as the confines of Egypt, which they lost after a dominion of twenty-eight years :—secondly, the expedition of Darius :—and thirdly, that about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Scyles in vain fled to Sitalces, and was given up to Octamasades. At the time when Herodotus wrote his history, above eighty years had passed since the expedition of Darius; and if he had collected his information many years earlier, it might even then have been altogether fabulous. Nothing can sound more fabulous than that an army of nearly a million men should have marched beyond the Don, through a desert of many hundred miles in width, where even the grass and pasturage were destroyed, and returned unmolested over rivers, like the Don, the Dniester, and the Dnieper; yet the opinion of later writers, who limited this expedition to the steppe between the Ister and the Tyras⁴⁷, was perhaps, on this very account, formed for the sake of probability. It cannot be supposed that the king of Asia would so soon have given up an expedition, which he commanded in person; but as the narrative of Herodotus involves an impossibility, we have no real historical knowledge of the whole undertaking. That, at the time of

⁴⁷ STRABO, VII, p. 305, B.

his residence on the Euxine, all the Scythians were dependent upon the royal hordes, is a fact which Herodotus takes so much for granted, that he does not adduce any express testimony to it. Connections of this kind have never had either certainty or long duration amongst the Mongolian nations; and the empire of the Scythians, when Thucydides wrote his history, was already dissolved and broken up into separate tribes. Hence it was possible that a Grecian state on the Bosphorus might acquire great power under the rule of princes. And as Olbia was obliged to entertain the Scythian king, whenever he led his army into their territory, which was also the case some centuries afterwards with Kaffa near the Bosphorus; so also must this state, in the time of Herodotus, have acknowledged the supremacy of the powerful barbarians, who, in marching against the Sindi, passed by Panticapæum and Phanagoria, with horses and wagons over the frozen strait without molestation⁴⁸. The Grecian cities on the coasts of great barbarian nations have, sooner or later, for a longer or a shorter period, purchased security from devastation by the payment of tribute, as those in Thrace did to the Odrysian kings: but at the same time the regulation of their internal government was left in their own hands, and the Archæanactidæ received the same royal

⁴⁸ HEROD. IV, 28.

honours from the Greeks of the Bosphorus, as if the khan of the Scythians had not been the arbiter of their fate⁴⁹.

At the time when Thucydides wrote, events were ripening in the west, which, in their progress and development, decided the downfall of the Scythian nation, and convulsed and desolated the whole of Europe, from the Tanais to the Sierra Morena.

The name of the Triballian plain cannot have been confined to the narrow district of Syrmia, lying in the angle which the Angrus (the Drin), having its source in Illyria, forms by its confluence with the Brongus (the Sau)⁵⁰. It doubtless extended over the whole level country of Lower Hungary. But though the Servians were, as regards their descent, quite unconnected with the Triballi, yet the Byzantine writers were not mistaken when, in respect of their place of abode, they called them by the latter name, as being a classical appellation; for the Triballi dwelt, in the time of Thucydides, on the confines of the Odrysian kingdom north of mount Scomius⁵¹. They were a Thracian nation⁵².

⁴⁹ DIODORUS appears to place the beginning of this dynasty about the time of the passage of Xerxes into Greece; stating also at Olymp. 85, 4, that their dominion lasted forty-two years (XII, 31). The Bosporan cities were probably founded about the same time, which might have been called Milesian, if their founders had come from the more ancient colonies, such as Istrus, Odessus, etc. and only received colonists (*oikistai*) from the mother city, which scarcely revived after its destruction.

⁵⁰ HEROD. IV, 49.

⁵¹ THUCYD. II, 96.

⁵² STRABO, VII, p. 305, A.

In the first year of the 101st Olympiad these Triballi, with all their disposable forces, to the number of 30,000 men, made an irruption into the territory of Abdera⁵³. The events of this war I pass over; the only point connected with the present inquiry is their appearance at so great a distance from their former country in quest of new settlements; for we find them between mount Hæmus, the sea, and the Danube, in the region which the Getæ still inhabited when Thucydides wrote his history—the province Scythia of the later Roman empire. The Scythian king Ateas, who carried on war with the Istrians, and afterwards in Bessarabia with Philip⁵⁴, fought also with the Triballi⁵⁵: they attacked Philip on his return from the Delta of the Danube across mount Hæmus⁵⁶: and after the Thracians had in vain attempted to repel Alexander from their country in the passes of these mountains, they placed their wives and children in safety in an island of the Danube named Peuce, which was formed by two mouths of the river⁵⁷. This entire change of abode shows that Diodorus is quite mistaken in assigning hunger as the cause of their advance to the Thracian coast. The men of military age, who would not submit to be

⁵³ DIODORUS, XV, 36, comp. ÆNEAS POLIORC. 15, as quoted by WESSE-
LING.

⁵⁴ JUSTIN, IX, 2.

⁵⁵ FRONTINUS *Stratag.* II, 4, 20.

⁵⁶ JUSTIN, IX, 3.

⁵⁷ ARRIAN, *Anab.* I, p. 6, 7, ed. GRONOV.

the slaves of a savage enemy, set out in quest of a new country.

The conquerors to whom they yielded their ancient settlements were the Gauls. From a comparison of the Roman and Grecian chronology it was the twelfth year after the sacking of Rome when the Triballi appeared before Abdera; and in the reign of Philip, Scylax mentions Celts in the farthest recess of the Adriatic gulf, who had been left behind by the invaders in their march⁵⁸, i. e. in their march along the Danube, where afterwards the Scordisci dwelt, in Lower Hungary and in the territory of the Servians, the descendants of the victorious Gauls. They and their kindred race in Noricum were the Celts who sent ambassadors to Alexander after his victory over the Triballi and Getæ.

Arrian leaves it undecided how far Alexander proceeded beyond the river, after the attack of his fleet upon Peuce had failed: considering that the galleys passed up the river to the same point, it could scarcely have been beyond Galatz. Here he found, within the Scythia of Herodotus, a city of the Getæ, who had disappeared from their former country. As it is probable that at the time when Herodotus wrote, Wallachia belonged to the Scythians only as a tributary province, so we may also conjecture that the nation which dwelt there,

⁵⁸ Οἱ ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς στρατείας, SCYLAX, p. 6.

as well as in the plains of Lower Bulgaria, were Getæ, and that they had crossed over thither to a kindred race from the right bank of the Ister, retreating before the Triballi.

Strabo remarks (following, as he says, the more accurate writers), that the inhabitants of Eastern Dacia were called Getæ⁵⁹—of Western, Daci. The value of this information for the early Macedonian period is not diminished by his erroneously supposing it to be correct in his own day. At the time when he wrote, the Getæ no longer dwelt on the left bank of the Lower Danube, but the Sarmatian Jazyges, of whose migration across the Tyras he was not aware⁶⁰, for in describing all these countries he followed books, which by the general change of things had become antiquated, and he had made no inquiries as to their actual condition. As then his testimony to the distinction between these two nations may be relied upon, it is equally safe to pronounce that the Getæ, who were recognised by Herodotus and Thucydides as a Thracian race, corresponded with the Dacians in language, customs, and character⁶¹. This latter nation inhabited the country between the Ister and Tyras, where Herodotus places the Agathyrsi, who certainly were not either a fabulous or extinct people, but from their Thracian⁶² manners and habits must have been the

⁵⁹ STRABO, VII, p. 304, C.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 306, B.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 305, A.

⁶² HEROD. IV, 104.

Dacians themselves. The mines of Upper Hungary and Transylvania would have supplied them with gold. Those who deduce the descent of different races from their affinity, believed or imagined that the Dacians came originally from mount Rhodope⁶³; perhaps there was in those quarters a nation whose name resembled, in sound at least, that adopted in Latin, or its Grecian form, *Dai* or *Davi* (Δαῖοι or Δαῖβοι). Mention is made in Thucydides⁶⁴ of the Δαῖοι, an independent Thracian people, dwelling on the chain of Rhodope, of whom Sitalces attracted great numbers into his army by means of pay and persuasion. It is possible that in the more perfect copies this was written Δαῖοι: but even if this were granted, the above statement would scarcely deserve observation.

In the new comedy, and even in Menander, *Davus* and *Geta* were nearly the most usual names of slaves: according, therefore, to the Athenian mode of naming them⁶⁵, we may infer that at that (though not at an earlier) time slaves from these nations were very numerous at Athens. This was occasioned by wars, from which the captives were brought in troops to the great markets, where, even though no hostility existed against the suffering nation, they were treated like any other kind of plunder. As to the race which reduced them to slavery,

⁶³ DIO CASSIUS, LI, 22.

⁶⁴ II, 96.

⁶⁵ STRABO, VII, p. 304, C.

there can be no doubt that it was the Scordisci, Boii, and other Gaelic and Cimbrian tribes settled on the banks of the Middle Danube, by whom they were brought into Greece through Illyria or Macedonia.

This pressure on their western frontiers, and the increase of their military power by the alliance of their kindred tribes who crossed the Danube, induced the Getæ to make attacks upon the Scythians, the result of which abundantly recompensed them for the tract of country of which they had perhaps been deprived by the Gauls. Ateas the Scythian, whom Philip attacked after raising the siege of Byzantium (Olymp. 110, 1), could not have retained a larger part of the extensive dominions of the Scythian kings, which were known to Herodotus, than Dengizish did of the kingdoms of his father Attila: for the single Grecian city of the Istrians was too powerful for him, and he solicited the aid of Philip against them⁶⁶. The Macedonian king marched against him, because he had broken his faith, defeated him, probably on the northern bank of the river, and captured many thousand high-bred horses. He was called away from prosecuting the victory by the too dilatory insurrection of the Greeks in the Chæronean war. By this means Ateas maintained himself in the steppe; and even twenty-seven years afterwards (Olymp.

⁶⁶ JUSTIN, IX, 2.

116, 4) the Scythians came with the Thracians, as an independent people, to assist the Istrians against Lysimachus⁶⁷. This is the last mention of the Scythian nation in the region of the Ister; and at this time they could only have been a remnant of it in Budzack. Twenty years later⁶⁸ (Olymp. 121, 4) Lysimachus was taken prisoner, with his whole army, between the Ister and the Tyras: this region was then called the Steppe of the Getæ⁶⁹; no longer of the Scythians.

Diodorus and Justin⁷⁰ call the subjects of Dromichætes a Thracian people, which prince is more illustrious from the humane and wise manner in which he used his decisive victory, than from the defeat and captivity of the most distinguished of the generals and successors of Alexander: Diodorus, however, once calls them Getæ, as they are named by Strabo and Pausanias⁷¹. And in truth, we are as much at liberty to choose either appellation, as, in speaking of a war with a foreign country, we may either designate the army of a German state by its particular name, or by the more general one of German: the national name of Thracian was, however, less applicable to the Getæ, as it had been gradually appropriated to

⁶⁷ DIODORUS, XIX, 73.

⁶⁸ According to WESSELYING's date *ad Diodor. Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit.* XXI, vol. IX, p. 269, ed. Bipont.

⁶⁹ Ἡ τῶν Γετῶν ἐρημία, STRABO VII, p. 305, B; 306, B.

⁷⁰ DIODORUS, *Excerpt. de Virt.* ubi supra. JUSTIN, XVI, 1.

⁷¹ PAUSANIAS, *Attic.* p. 8, D.

the country on the north of the Ister. But the certainty that Diodorus calls the land of the Getæ, *Thracian*, furnishes a safe ground for the events of the two epochs before and after the time of Dromichætes.

Of all the historians of any period in the two languages of antiquity, whose works have come down to us, Diodorus is one of the worst: he sometimes from carelessness entirely passes over the history of a state for a long series of years, and on resuming it, surprises us by a circumstantial detail of events, which are of less real importance than others which he has omitted or forgotten. He proceeds in this way in his history of the Grecian state on the Bosphorus, of which there must surely have been native histories, no less than of Heraclea on the Pontus, and, as in later times, also of Cherson. For the reigns of Leucon and Parisades he gives only names and dates, and says nothing of the manner in which during more than eighty years, from the accession of Leucon to the death of Parisades, the Grecian principality which Leucon probably received in a state of independence and freedom from tribute, had advanced to the degree of importance which it appears to have enjoyed in the succession war between the sons of Parisades⁷² (Olymp. 117, 3). I only extract from the history of this war so much as serves to illustrate the

⁷² DIODORUS, XX, 22.

condition of Scythia. The scene evidently lies between the isthmus of Perekop and the Dnieper, in the Hylæa of Herodotus; and the river Thapsis, or Thates, is his Panticapes, or Hypacyris. The Hylæa, a marsh covered with wood, is plainly to be recognised by the strong position of the city of the Thracian king Aripharnes⁷³; but it is of great historical importance to find a Thracian kingdom (i. e. of the Getæ) established to the east of the Borysthenes. I suspect that the kingdom of Dromichætes, seventeen years afterwards, was the same as this, and that we must not look for it in Dacia. The force with which Aripharnes assisted Eumelus, 20,000 cavalry and 22,000 infantry, is so great, that we can scarcely conceive the Getæ to have been divided into several kingdoms, one of which was sufficiently powerful to overcome Lysimachus.

So far, then, the western part of Scythia was in the possession of the Getæ; although single tribes of the ancient nation had maintained themselves in different parts, some paying, others exempt from tribute. There was, however, still a king of the Scythians, called Agarus, the son of Satyrus, to whom Parisades fled⁷⁴, who had carried on war principally with Scythian nations. The gold of the rich Bos-

⁷³ Or *Ariopharnes*, though the former reading appears to be better established in the manuscripts.

⁷⁴ Κατέφυγε πρὸς Ἀγαρον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σκυθῶν. DIODORUS, XX, 24.

porus was at this time the only attraction : but the Scythians looked upon the king of that state as their natural ally and protector against the Getæ.

Nor were they only pressed on their western borders. When Herodotus visited Olbia, the Sauromatæ dwelt beyond the lake Mæotis and the Tanais⁷⁵; and they were then so inaccessible and so little known, that he and Hippocrates relate the fable of the military campaigns of their virgins as a certain fact⁷⁶. But Ephorus had an historical knowledge both of them and of their savage manners⁷⁷; and a short time before he wrote, eighteen olympiads after the publication of the history of Herodotus, Scylax writes, that "there dwell on the Mæotis, to the west of the Tanais and beyond the Scythians, the nation of the Syrmataæ⁷⁸;" who surely can be no other than the Sauromatæ, whom he places on the right bank of the Don. Yet the war between the sons of Parisades shows that, about thirty-five years

⁷⁵ HEROD. IV, 21, 57.

⁷⁶ HEROD. IV, 117. HIPPOCRATES, p. 291, A. From the tradition of these genuine descendants of the Amazons, that of a nation of *Γυναικοκρατούμενοι* must have been derived, which the serious Scylax records; where we ought to read, *Σαυρομάτων δὲ ἔχεται ἔθνος Γυναικοκρατούμενοι*.

⁷⁷ STRABO, VII, p. 302, C.

⁷⁸ The passage referring to this in Scylax, ed HUDS. p. 30, l. 14 sqq. is lamentably corrupt, and must be emended by restoring the words which are omitted, and by a new punctuation:—

εἰς τὴν Μαιώτιν λίμνην.

ΣΥΡΜΑΤΑΙ.

[Μετὰ δὲ Σκύθας εἰσὶ Σαρμάται] ἔθνος, καὶ ποταμὸς Τάναϊς [ὅς] ὁρίζει, κ. τ. λ.

after Scylax, the Sarmatians and Getæ had not yet come in contact, nor even separated the Scythians from the Bosporan state.

Another deviation of the Periplus from the description of Herodotus is, in like manner, probably to be explained, not by an error in either of the writers, but by the movements of the nations. According to Herodotus, the Melanchlæni dwell beyond the Royal Scythians, the Geloni on the Lower Don, about Circassia; according to Scylax both tribes dwell on the Black sea, at the foot of Caucasus, to the west of the Colchians.

After this epoch these countries are for a long time unnoticed in history: however, Olbia and the surrounding region derive much light from the inscription of Protogenes, of which the date alone is wanting⁷⁹. In this (B. at the top), Olbia is represented as sunk in great misery and distress, and completely overwhelmed by a recent war with the Gauls (Γαλάται), in which all the slaves in the country and the half-Greeks on the frontiers had been destroyed. The city was threatened with another attack, as the Gauls and Sciri had concluded an alliance; and it was generally reported that they would make an attack in the winter. At that

⁷⁹ I have it before me in KÖHLER's edition. This is not the place to enter into a criticism of it, but the remark may not be out of place, that the end is evidently wanting; so also a considerable part is lost between the end of the side A, and the beginning of B. Probably a very large piece is here broken off, and the regular laudatory decree was upon the second side, and not upon another tablet.

season, when the ice was hard, the city was exposed, for there was no wall towards the river and the harbour: an omission which doubtless had not arisen from the negligence of the first founders, but either from the prohibition of the Scythian kings to build one, or the command of the Getan kings to demolish it when built. The project was frustrated by the extensive fortification of the open country. Olbia at that time not only had reason to fear the Gauls, but also the Thisamataë, the Scythians, and Saudarataë, who were anxious to get possession of that town in order to secure a convenient place of defence against their formidable enemies. At the same time a certain king named Sætapharnes ruled over that region, whose forbearance the Olbiopolitæ purchased by embassies and presents⁸⁰; and were compelled to humble themselves before him when he appeared with his army on the opposite bank of the river, in order to receive the tribute, which in the decree is called a gift⁸¹. The river is, beyond all question, the Borysthenes, and not the Hypanis; and the very name of Sætapharnes makes it certain that he was a Getan, whose kingdom was to the east of the Dnieper, being the successor of the Aripharnes already mentioned^d. The Thisamataë

⁸⁰ A, 10 sqq. 82 sqq.

⁸¹ τοῦ βασιλέως παραγενομένου εἰς τὸ ἀντιπέραν εἰς θεραπείαν, κ. τ. λ.
A, 82 sqq.

^d See above, note 73.

and Saudarataë are nations which do not occur elsewhere: the former name is probably in part compounded of the same word as that of the Iaxamataë on the lake Mæotis, which Demetrius of Callatis considered as the same nation as the Mæotians of the early writers; Ephorus as a tribe of the Sauromataë⁸². The Scythians had by this time become so insignificant, that they only occur as a surviving horde in conjunction with two other nations, who were in search of a fortified city to protect their defenceless people against the Gauls.

The period at which this latter nation first appeared in the neighbourhood of the Borysthenes would determine that of the inscription; for the whole tenor of it shows that the first terrors of invasion prevailed. But upon this point history supplies us with no information; on the contrary, the inscription is the first testimony we have of the Gauls having at any time inhabited and been lords of the Ukraine: and it serves to illustrate the name of the Celto-Scythians, which occurs in Strabo without explanation⁸³; and can now no longer be understood to signify the supposed contact of the great nations of ancient geography, but must mean the Celts in Scythia. Strabo quotes from Posidonius, that the Cimbri had advanced as far as the lake Mæotis⁸⁴, and I may venture

⁸² Γένος Ἰαξαματῶν, *Peripl. Ponti Eux.* HUDS. p. 2; GRON. p. 134.

⁸³ STRABO, I, p. 33; B.

⁸⁴ VII, p. 293, D.

to assume, as a point already proved⁸⁵, that these were Gauls in the extensive Roman sense of the word, which also comprises the Belgians, and even their companions the Teutones or Germans; and that they came not from the north, but from the east. These Cimbri are the Galatæ of the Olbian inscription; though they were as yet confined to the right bank of the Borysthenes, the left bank being included in the powerful kingdom of the Getæ. And I see no reason why their allies the Scirians, should not be the Scyrians, who indeed do not occur for many generations after this time, and then as Germans, but who might, at this period, with other branches of their nation, be classed under the general name of Teutones.

The neighbouring Greeks certainly distinguished the Teutonic tribes from the Gauls, as in this instance of the Scirians: by the remote nations they were confounded with the celebrated name of their more powerful companions; and this the more as the general national appellation was hardly known at a distance. It has been disputed between French and German philologists, to which race of people the Bastarnæ belonged: and it is impossible to arrive at any decision, since Polybius calls them Gauls, while Strabo says that

⁸⁵ By J. MUELLER, in his *Bellum Cimbricum*, a work of his younger days, exhibiting considerable philological talent, which afterwards unhappily expired.

they were in fact Germans⁸⁶. Tacitus states distinctly that the language of the Peucini was German. He likewise adds, that some call them Bastarnæ⁸⁷; and Strabo, whose accounts apply to a period much anterior to his own, decidedly considers them as a Bastarnian race; so that what Tacitus asserts of the Peucini altogether holds good of the Bastarnæ. Hence we should be compelled to suppose that Polybius does not call them Gauls in a strict sense, having been only swept away in the stream of the Gallic migration; if it were not possible that a Gaulish tribe could, without losing its name, have been so completely blended with Germans as even to change its language.

It is certain that in the second half of the sixth century after the building of the city they dwelt on the northern bank of the Danube: whence, being invited by Philip the younger to serve in his army against Rome, a great part of them crossed the river: but being deceived and discontented they returned, and before they could reach their former settlements suffered great loss on the ice of the Ister⁸⁸. Now if these are to be regarded as Gauls, they either came with those who harassed the city of Olbia, or immediately followed them. And it

⁸⁶ Σχεδὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γένους ὄντες, STRABO, VII, p. 306, C. DIO CASSIUS calls them genuine Scythians, LI, 23, Σκύθαι ἀκριβῶς—as he previously calls the Getæ a kind of Scythians (τρόπον τινά): such is the confusion of the period in which he lived.

⁸⁷ *Germ.* 46.

⁸⁸ OROSIUS, IV, 20.

is probable that the nations who advanced in that direction crossed the Ister about the same time that others of their body spread over Macedonia as far as Greece : others again established themselves in Thrace, and at length, about the 125th Olympiad, advanced into Asia. If, on the other hand, they were Germans, they would have taken the route across the Tyras, out of Poland. Be this as it may, the Getæ who maintained themselves in Dacia, by their means lost the same plains which at an earlier period had been occupied by the Scythians, and were again separated by them from their fellow tribes in Thrace. Indeed the Bastarnæ in those regions were sufficiently powerful, not only during the first consulship⁸⁹ of Cæsar, but thirty years afterwards, about the time of the battle of Actium⁹⁰, to carry on a war with the Romans at the foot of mount Hæmus ; although the power of the Getæ had then sprung up with renewed vigour. I shall afterwards recur to the later vestiges of their existence.

With regard to the age of the decree respecting the merits of Protogenes, we can only conjecture that it was perhaps anterior, and could not be posterior to the second Punic war, because it is improbable that the Getan state, to the east of the Borysthenes, and adjoining the Sauromatæ, had a longer duration. The

⁸⁹ DIO, XXXVIII, 10.

⁹⁰ Id. LI, 23, 24.

appearance of the Cimbri in Noricum, in 639 A. U. C., was without doubt the consequence of great changes in these countries, by which that tribe were compelled to forsake their habitations. The Sauromatæ spread on this side the Tanais either of their own accord, or were driven to it by the pressure of large bodies of emigrants from the north of Asia: in fact, everything leads us to suppose that it was they whom the Cimbri forced to a migration which also involved many other tribes. They bent their course to the north of the Carpathians; for the first event mentioned is their attack upon the Boii, whence it appears that they were afraid of the Dacians and left them undisturbed.

But as the events in Scythia which occasioned their departure appear to have been imperfectly known to historians, and they are silent regarding the extension of the Sauromatæ, it can only be ascertained by conjecture and inference. The Roxolani, a Sarmatian people⁹¹, appear to have dwelt in the country between the Borysthenes and Tanais⁹² (which settlement Strabo assigns to them, following the accounts of much earlier writers and probably Posidonius), when about the year 660, A. U. C. they came to assist the sons of Scilurus against the Pontic generals⁹³. This war, by which

⁹¹ TACITUS, *Hist.* I, 79.

⁹² STRABO, VII, p. 306, C.

⁹³ Id. *ibid.*

Mithridates gained a rich territory in this remote region and exercised an army against the Romans, first throws some historical light upon the countries to the north of the Euxine. The period at which the Crimea and the surrounding regions became a province of the kingdom of Pontus cannot be determined with more accuracy than that it took place before the breaking out of the first Roman war⁹⁴. Mithridates was by descent a Persian; but his alliances with the Macedonian kings in Asia, and his adoption of the Greek language and manners, caused his family to pass for Grecian, even before his character induced the Greeks to view him in the light of a native liberator. Chersonesus in the Crimea, which, when nothing but oriental slavery prevailed in the Byzantine empire, maintained, under the name of Cherson, the constitution of a free Greek city, was at that time the most important of the Greek settlements in these parts: but being grievously harassed by its neighbours, in order to ensure protection it submitted to the sovereignty of Mithridates. Parisades also, prince of the Bosphorus, courted his alliance; on whom the barbarians raised an arbitrary and oppressive tribute, by which they purchased the pretended forbearance of this state when reduced to a completely powerless condition. The enemies with whom the generals of Mithri-

⁹⁴ MEMNON, *ap. Phot. cod.* 224, p. 230, B, ed. BEKKER.

dates had to contend, Scilurus and his son Palacus and his fifty brothers, are called Scythians⁹⁵; but whether with propriety, or whether Posidonius, whose account of these transactions was doubtless borrowed by Strabo, applied the name in a vague sense to another nation within the limits of ancient Scythia, cannot be determined. The latter supposition is the more probable, as the Tauri are also called Scythians in Strabo⁹⁶: yet they must have been the nation who harassed the city Chersonesus. The fortresses of Scilurus⁹⁷ were within the Crimea, and in that quarter the situation of fortified places can, as it appears, only be looked for in the Taurian mountains, and not in the plain which was once occupied by Scythians. By this time the use of the Scythian name had become so indefinite that, from the accounts of the Scythians in the army of Mithridates, nothing can be inferred as to the existence of that people. Still with regard to the Agari, a Scythian nation who were acquainted with a remedy for the poison of serpents⁹⁸, we may conjecture from the name of the king Agarus already mentioned^e that they were strictly Scythians.

I have mentioned the appearance of the

⁹⁵ STRABO, VII, p. 309, A. The Scythian princes whose restoration Rome required of Mithridates, (MEMNON ubi sup.) were probably the Sciluridæ.

⁹⁶ Id. VII, p. 308, B.

⁹⁷ Id. VII, p. 306, C.

⁹⁸ APPIAN, *Mithrid.* 88.

^e Above, note 74.

Roxolani in this war, as bearing upon the history of the movements of nations. This alone is the object of my researches: I, therefore, pass over the observations of Strabo on the events of their war, and in what way the Roxolani were defeated:—I also omit whatever appears in his writings relating to the expeditions in which Diophantes and Neoptolemus subjected the whole of the Crimea and of the Sindian territory to their royal master,—a province which, when secured against the barbarians, soon became a flourishing country and highly productive to its ruler. The tower of Neoptolemus, at the mouth of the Tyras, proves that the empire of Mithridates extended beyond Olbia, which, if the Pontic kingdom had continued, would probably have been secured before its destruction by the Getæ.

In the agreeable narrative in which the ingenious Dio of Prusa rewarded the Borysthenites for the kindness with which, fearless of the tyrant's wrath, they had received the almost outlawed fugitive, and imparts to us the same emotion which he himself experienced amongst Greeks who preserved on the coast of rude barbarians genius and cultivation, and in the courageous endurance of daily peril maintained the manliness and freedom of their ancestors, then almost extinct:—in this alone is the very important account preserved, that' this conquest of the Getæ took place a hundred and fifty years before his time. At the same period

the Getæ had taken and laid waste all the Greek cities on the left shore of the Pontus as far as Apollonia⁹⁹: since which time many of them had remained in ruins, and others were but scantily restored, the population consisting for the most part of barbarians. The date, which is probably neither strictly accurate nor yet far from truth, nearly coincides with the beginning of the eighth century of the city and the campaigns of Julius Cæsar in Gaul, soon after the proconsulship of Caius Antonius and the inroad of the Bastarnæ into Mœsia. I have no doubt that the fame of these victories, which to us appear so unfortunate and lamentable, belongs to Bœrebistes¹⁰⁰, who with the prophet Diceneus roused his nation by the enthusiasm of a warlike religion. Strabo says, that having previously been much reduced by various defeats, they had at that time raised themselves to great power, and having exterminated the Gallic tribes, the Boii and Taurisci on the middle Danube, had made inroads into Macedonia and Illyria: but before Augustus sent an army against Bœrebistes, he had lost his throne and his life by a conspiracy of rebels¹⁰¹. The period when they came into the

⁹⁹ *Boristh.* (II, p. 75, 76. ed. R.) ἐάλωκε—τὴν τελευταίαν καὶ μεγίστην ἄλωσιν οὐ πρὸ πλείονων ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν· εἶλον δὲ καὶ ταύτην Γέται, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις μέχρι Ἀπολλωνίας, κ. τ. λ.

¹⁰⁰ JORNANDES, *de reb. Get.* 11, (*Thes. MURAT.* vol. I, p. 197) appears to have found in CASSIODORUS his name to be Boroista Sitalcus.

¹⁰¹ STRABO, VII, p. 304, B.

field with 200,000 men¹⁰² must be that of the same conqueror. Moreover, the date of his death cannot fall later than the first years of Augustus; for at the time of the Pannonian revolt no mention is made of the Dacians, who after the death of Bœrebistes were divided into several principalities: and the settlement of Marbodius supposes that the land of the Boii was not at that time in the possession of a powerful prince. An account, probably derived from Dion Cassius, which fixes the arrival of Diceneus amongst the Getæ at the same time as the ascendancy of Scylla at Rome¹⁰³, may perhaps be not quite accurate; yet it confirms the conjecture that the Grecian cities fell a prey to the fanaticism which he had kindled.

Ovid found at Tomi a mixed population, though the Getæ predominated both in language and manners: this was the consequence of the destruction and dominion of the barbarians, who had now recovered the long lost home of their ancestors. And as the Dacian state had fallen to pieces, they sought behind the river a place of refuge from new conquerors. For when the poet resided at Tomi, the Sarmatians or Jazyges were in possession of the country on the left bank of the Danube, and wandered under the walls of the half Grecian city, as often as the frozen surface of

¹⁰² Id. p. 305, B.

¹⁰³ JORNANDES, ubi sup.

the Ister furnished them with a bridge¹⁰⁴. Strabo had heard nothing of this, for he supposes the Getæ on the Tyras to be the Tyregetæ¹⁰⁵, and the Sarmatian Jazyges to lie to the east of them, and probably of the Hypanis. I have already observed, that this is a correct account, but older than Strabo by fifty years, or even more. Thus the Sarmatians gradually advanced in their progress from their own country, on the other side of the Tanais, across the river, along the Borysthenes, the Hypanis, and the Ister.

The Jazyges, either allured by the rich plains of Hungary, or compelled to resign their country to others, though perhaps not the whole nation¹⁰⁶, had already, before the time of the emperor Claudius, when they bordered upon the kingdom of Vannius¹⁰⁷, crossed the western boundary of the Herodotean Scythia, and driven the Dacians out of the district between the Danube and the Theiss¹⁰⁸. About this time, and after the death of Nero, we find the Roxolani¹⁰⁹ to have been destructive neighbours of Mœsia in the district which they pos-

¹⁰⁴ It is unnecessary in this place to quote passages from his *Tristia*, and his letters from the Pontus, where they are so numerous.

¹⁰⁵ *Τυρηγέται* (i. e. Getæ of the Tyras) not *Τυρρηγέται*, which is certainly a false reading, STRABO, VII, p. 306, B.

¹⁰⁶ The name of *Metanastæ* appears to distinguish the Jazyges who dwelt between Dacia and Pannonia, from others.

¹⁰⁷ TACITUS, *Annal.* XII, 29, 30. PLINY, *ubi sup.* also places them in this district.

¹⁰⁸ *Pulsi ab his Daci*, PLINY, H. N. IV, 25.

¹⁰⁹ TACITUS, *Hist.* I, 79. They had therefore followed the Roxolani, see above, p. 78.

sessed in the time of Ovid : they are undoubtedly the Sarmatians who furnished the Dacians with fully equipped cavalry against Trajan ; and, as the Dniester formed the eastern boundary of the province, they must either have submitted to the conqueror, or have moved onwards.

In one part of the province, which the Jazyges Metanastæ had conquered, there has remained since the time of the Mongols a nation whose descendants are to this day called Jazyges ; and whose identity with the ancient tribe appears to the incautious to be the more clearly established by their having been for a long period nomads. This is a striking instance of the invalidity of conclusions drawn from the mere similarity of names in cases where the appearances are much less favourable. As, for instance, when the Goths have been identified with the Getæ,—the Wends with the Veneti of Italy,—and, lest any opportunity should be lost, with the Scythians have been identified both the Goths, under the name of Scoloti, and the Celts. The Jazyges of modern Hungary are clearly and avowedly Comani, whose arrival is recorded in contemporary history : and their name is a Magyaric word, signifying bowmen. But the Sarmatian Jazyges were Slavonians, and the root of their name *jazyk*, “*speech, language*,” corresponds exactly with the meaning of *slovene*, “*the speakers*,” in opposition to *niemtzi*, “*the dumb, the strangers*.”

Mention is made of the Bastarnæ about the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, from which it cannot be doubted that at that time they were settled on the left bank of the Lower Danube¹¹⁰. Tacitus does not determine the place of their abode, but as he mentions them with the Venedi and Fenni probably he points to the countries north of the Roman province of Dacia, where Ptolemy places them.

If then it appears from these researches that the Scythians, being a Mongolian people, were entirely unconnected with the Slavonic race, while no one can doubt that the Sarmatians were Slavonians; if this nation, extirpating the Scythians, and narrowing the limits of the Getæ, advanced so gradually to the Danube, while on the other side they spread towards the Vistula, only one hypothesis remains to those who adhere to the opinion that the ancestors of the Slavonians had dwelt from time immemorial between the Danube and the Adriatic sea. They must maintain that the whole Thracian nation, together with the Getæ and the Triballi, were of the same race as the Sarmatians, and of Slavonic descent: that they were only accidentally separated from them by

¹¹⁰ TACITUS, *Annal.* II, 65. *Rhescuporis adversus Basternas Scythasque bellum prætendens.* OVID. *Trist.* II, 197. *Proxima Basternæ, Sauromataque tenent.* The reading *Bistonii* in this place is certainly derived from the learned antiquity, and means the Getæ: yet the other reading seems more probable.

the Scoloti; and if so much could be made tolerably probable, I should attach little importance to the facts that the ancient Dalmatians were undoubtedly Illyrians of the stock of the modern Albanians, and that the Pannonians were not Thracians: still less on the circumstance that before the Roman era the Gauls dwelt and ruled in those countries which are now occupied by the best Slavonic races. It may, on the other hand, be safely affirmed, that the few known Thracian words occur in no Slavonic dialect: while the few names of places within the confines of Dacia, which must be referred to a Slavonic origin, belong to those periods when, according to the preceding description, the Sarmatians dwelt there. And if we guard against this delusion, how are we to get rid of the certain fact of the extension of the Sclaveni to the south of the Danube after the time of Attila^f?

I have now attempted to give the history of the Scythians as a distinct and separate nation; it had, however, disappeared and become extinct in the time of Pliny; their place was filled by Germans and Sarmatians, and the Scythian name only remained to the most remote and unknown tribes in the north¹¹¹. At that time there could have been no longer in

^f PROCOPIUS *de Bell. Goth.* III, 13, 29, 38, 40.

¹¹¹ PLINY, H.N. IV, 25. *Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit (leg. transiit) in Sarmatas atque Germanos: nec aliis prisca illa duravit appellatio, quam qui extremi gentium harum ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus degunt.*

ancient Scythia a single unmixed horde of that race amongst those who were subject to the Sarmatians.

The ambiguous application of the word to comprise all the frozen regions of the north began in the Macedonian period. Herodotus distinctly separates all the nations east of the Tanais, such as the Thyssagetæ and Issedones, from Scythia: and this fixed and limited use without doubt still subsisted at the time of Alexander's conquest of Asia. But because the Macedonians considered the Jaxartes as the Tanais¹¹², and found on its right bank nations resembling the Scythians, who wandered in steppes like those about the Borysthenes, the companions and historians of the king hence called this region Scythia, and the want of a general name established it in common use. Thus the name of *Siberia* has been extended from the district properly so called, to all the countries east of it in the hands of the Russians. The want was real; accordingly, when the mistake as to the Tanais was detected, an Asiatic Scythia was supposed, lying to the east of the true one, and this is the Scythia proper of Strabo, the ancient Scythia having become Sarmatia.

It has been perceived by Vossius that Scymnus, following some writer who in the ancient idiom called the Jaxartes the Araxes, had

¹¹² PLUTARCH. *Alex.* p. 691, A.

spoken of the confusion of the Tanais with that river ; but he has not deciphered the name of the writer : and has also divided the lines incorrectly. They should be read thus :

ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ Μαιωτῶν λαβοῦσα τοῦνομα
Μαιωτὶς ἐξῆς ἐστὶ λίμνη κειμένη.
εἰς ἣν ὁ Τάναϊς —————
ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβὼν τὸ ῥεῦμα Ἀράξεως
ἐπιμίσγεθ' ὥς Ἑκαταῖος εἶφ' οὐρετριεύς ¹¹³.

The mention of a writer who to my knowledge is only mentioned in one other passage, is in itself an interesting discovery : it is a melancholy though satisfactory duty incumbent upon me to preserve and publish it. The conjecture is Buttman's, and was made during the literary intercourse of our earlier years, when I read before the academy of Berlin a portion of the contents of this treatise.

¹¹³ In the *Periplus Ponti Eux.* v. 126, ed. HUDS. p. 4 ; *Geogr.* GRONOV. p. 140 : ἐπιμισγέσθω εκατεως εφοτιεύς. PLUTARCH. ubi sup. quotes this same Hecataeus for the events on the Iaxartes.

THE END.

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